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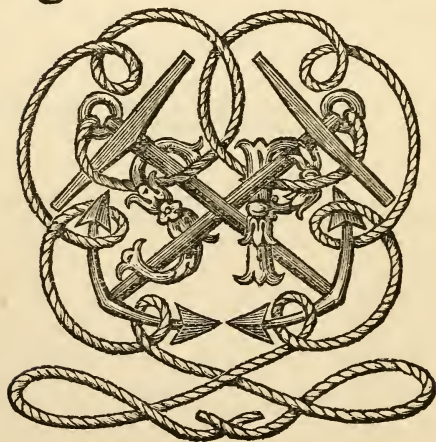


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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

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*Mens* *usque*



DIARY  
AND  
CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

WITH A LIFE AND NOTES BY  
RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY  
REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,  
PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. IV.

NOVEMBER 1, 1663—MARCH 31, 1665.

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## DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

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Nov. 1ST, 1663. (Lord's day.) This morning my brother's man brought me a new black baize waist-coate, faced with silke, which I put on from this day, laying by half-shirts for this winter. He brought me also my new gowne of purple shagg, trimmed with gold, very handsome; also as a gift from my brother, a velvet hat,<sup>1</sup> very fine to ride in, and the fashion, which pleases me very well, to which end, I believe, he sent it me, for he knows I had lately been angry with him. Up and to church with my wife, and at noon dined at home alone, a good calve's head boiled and dumplings, an excellent dinner methought it was. Then to church again, whither Sir W. Pen came, the first time he has been at church these several months, he having been sicke all the while. Home and to my office, where I taught my wife some part of substraction. After supper another bout at arithmetique with my wife, and so to prayers, and then to read my vowes, and to bed.

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<sup>1</sup> Which he had probably cribbed from the velvet.

2d. Up, and by coach to White Hall, and there in the long matted Gallery I find Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Batten ; and by and by comes the King to walk there with three or four with him ; and soon as he saw us, says he, " Here is the Navy Office," and there walked twenty turns the length of the gallery, talking, methought, but ordinary talke. By and by came the Duke, and he walked, and at last they went into the Duke's lodgings. The King staid so long that we could not discourse with the Duke, and so we parted. I heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a perriwigg ; and they say the King also will. I never till this day observed that the King is mighty gray. Thence, meeting with Creed, walked with him to Westminster Hall, and thence by coach took up Mrs. Hunt, and we light at the 'Change, and sent her to my house. So home, and carried a barrel of oysters with us, and after a good dinner left Mrs. Hunt and my wife making marmalett of quinces, and Creed and I to the perriwigg makers. Home, and there found them busy still, and I up to my vyall. Anon, the comfiture being well done, my wife and I took Mrs. Hunt, and did give her a box of sugar and a haunch of venison given me the other day. After supper there happening some discourse where my wife thought she had taken Jane in a lie, she told me of it mighty triumphantly, but I, not seeing reason to conclude it a lie, was vexed, and my wife and I to very high words, wherein I up to my chamber, and she by and by followed me up, and to very bad words from

her to me, calling me perfidious and man of no conscience, whatever I pretend to, and I know not what, which troubled me mightily, and though I would allow something to her passion, yet I see again and again that she spoke but somewhat of what she had in her heart. But I tempered myself very well, so as that though we went to bed with discontent she yielded to me and began to be fond, so that being willing myself to peace, we did before we sleep become very good friends, and so with good hearts and joy to rest.

3rd. At noon to the coffee-house, and there heard a long and most passionate discourse between two doctors of physique, of which one was Dr. Allen,<sup>1</sup> whom I knew at Cambridge, and a couple of apothecarys : these maintaining chymistry against their Galenicall physique ; and the truth is, one of the apothecarys whom they charged most, did speak very prettily, that is, his language and sense good, though perhaps he might not be so knowing a physician as to offer to contest with them. At last they came to some cooler terms, and broke up. I home, and by and by comes Chapman, the periwig-maker, and upon my liking it, without more ado I went up, and there he cut off my haire, which went a little to my heart at present to part with it ; but, it being over, and my periwig on, I paid him 3*l*. for it ; and away went he with my owne haire to make up another of, and I by and by went abroad, after I had caused all my mayds to look upon

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Allen, M.D., of Caius College, and a member of the College of Physicians.

it ; and they conclude it do become me ; though Jane was mightily troubled for my parting of my own haire, and so was Besse. I went to Sir W. Pen, who observed mightily, and discoursed much upon my cutting off my haire, as he do of everything that concerns me, but it is over, and so I perceive after a day or two it will be no great matter.

4th. To my office, shewing myself to Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes, and no great matter made of my periwig, as I was afeard there would be. Home to dinner, and very pleasant with my wife, who is this day also herself making of marmalett of quince, which she now do very well. The Queene is in a great way to recovery. This noon came John Angier to me in a pickle, I was sad to see him, desiring my good word for him to go a trooper to Tangier, but I did schoole him and sent him away with good advice, but no present encouragement. Presently after I had a letter from his poor father at Cambridge, who is broke, it seems, and desires me to get him a protection, or a place of employment ; but, poor man, I doubt I can helpe him, but will endeavour it.

5th. At noon by agreement to the Miter to dinner upon T. Trice's 40s. Here was a very poor dinner and great company. All our lawyers on both sides, and several friends of his and some of mine brought by him. Here I was among a sorry company without any content or pleasure, and at the last the reckoning coming to above 40s. by 15s., he would have me pay the 10s. and he would pay the 5s., which was so poor

that I was ashamed of it, and did it only to save contending with him.

6th. To the coffee-house, and among other things heard Sir John Cutler say, that of his owne experience in time of thunder, so many barrels of beer as have a piece of iron laid upon them will not be soured, and the others will. After dinner came in Captain Grove, and he and I alone to talk of many things, and among others of the fishery, in which he gives me such hopes that I resolved this afternoon to go and consult my Lord Sandwich about it. To White Hall, where my Lord met me very fortunately, and wondered first to see me in my perruque, and I am glad it is over. He do give me the best advice he can, and telling me how there are some projectors, by name Sir Edward Ford, who would have the making of farthings, and out of that give so much to the King for the maintenance of the fishery; but my Lord do not like that, and so upon my desire he promises me when it is seasonable to bring me into the commission with others, if any of them take, and I perceive he and Mr. Coventry are resolved to follow it hard. After that we begun to talk of the Court, and he tells me how Mr. Edward Montagu begins to show respect to him again after his endeavouring to bespatter him all was possible; but he is resolved never to admit him into his friendship again. He tells me how he and Sir H. Bennet, the Duke of Buckingham and his Duchesse, was of a committee with somebody else for the getting of Mrs. Stewart

for the King ; but that she proves a cunning slut, and is advised at Somerset House by the Queene-Mother, and by her mother,<sup>1</sup> and so all the plot is spoiled and the whole committee broke. Mr. Montagu and the Duke of Buckingham fallen a-pieces, the Duchesse going to a nunnery ; and so Montagu begins to enter friendship with my Lord, and to attend the Chancellor whom he had deserted. My Lord tells me that Mr. Montagu, among other things, did endeavour to represent him to the Chancellor's sons as one that did desert their father in the business of my Lord of Bristol ; which is most false, being the only man that hath several times dined with him when no soul hath come to him, and went with him that very day home when the Earl impeached him in the Parliament House, and hath refused ever to pay a visit to my Lord of Bristol, not so much as in return to a visit of his. So that the Chancellor and my Lord are well known and trusted one by another. But yet my Lord blames the Chancellor for desiring to have it put off to the next Session of Parliament, contrary to my Lord Treasurer's advice, to whom he swore he would not do it : and, perhaps, my Lord Chancellor, for ought I see by my Lord's discourse, may suffer by it when the Parliament comes to sit. My Lord tells me that he observes the Duke of York do follow and understand business very well, and is mightily improved thereby.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Walter Stewart.

7th. To the office where we sat all the morning, and Sir W. Pen and I had a word or two, where by opposing him in not being willing to excuse a mulct put upon the purser of the James, absent from duty, he says, by his business and order, he was mighty angry, and went out of the office like an asse discontented. At which I am never a whit sorry; I would not have him think that I dare not oppose him, where I see reason and cause for it. This day Captain Taylor<sup>1</sup> brought me a piece of plate, a little small state dish, he expecting that I should get him some allowance for demorage of his ship "William," kept long at Tangier, which I shall and may justly do.

8th. To church, where I found that my coming in a perriwigg<sup>2</sup> did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me. Here an ordinary lazy sermon of Mr. Mill's, and then home to dinner, and there Tom came and dined with us; and

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<sup>1</sup> Silas Taylor, described by A. Wood as *alias* Domville, was a native of Shropshire, and educated at Oxford, and became a captain in the Parliament forces. Subsequently to the Restoration he was appointed Commissary of Ammunition at Dunkirk, and in 1665 made Keeper of the King's Stores at Harwich. He died November 4th, 1668. He was an able antiquary, and left materials for a history of Herefordshire and of Harwich. There is a MS. by Silas Taylor in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.*, 4910). It formerly belonged to Sir John Hawkins, who describes Taylor as well skilled in music, and a composer of two anthems which pleased the King. See Hawkins's "Hist. of Music," vol. iv., p. 330, and Wood's "Athenæ." Taylor published in his lifetime a treatise on Gavel-kind.

<sup>2</sup> There is a touch of vanity in this passage that is excessively comic, and the notice of the slight impression made by the periwig is admirably descriptive of the writer.



after dinner to talk about a new black suit that I have a making, and so at church time to church again, where the Scott preached, and I slept most of the time. Thence home, and I spent most of the evening upon "Fuller's Church History" and "Barckly's Argeny,"<sup>1</sup> and so after supper to prayers and to bed.

9th. To the Duke, where, when we came into his closett, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new perriwigg that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and among and above other things we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson's coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkely<sup>2</sup> is come to towne with a letter from the Duana<sup>3</sup> of Algier to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers, and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke's pass they will detain (though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace) as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Seignor's confirmation of the Peace from Constantinople by Captain Berkely; so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his

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<sup>1</sup> Barclay's "Argenis," a kind of romance in the style of "Petronius and Apuleius," in which he describes the manner of a court, &c. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Portsmouth, killed in 1666.

<sup>3</sup> Diwan.



will by a fleete of ships ; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again after cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Basha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus ; for (just like his late predecessor) when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Seigneur of him, and cut his head off : this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon ; and among other things he asked me seriously whether I knew anything of my Lord's being out of favour with the King ; and told me, that for certain the King do take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people (which I am told) of the uncertainty of princes' favours, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing ; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain ; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an houre together kissing her to the observation of all the world ; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do ; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as

now and then he goes to have a chat with her as he believes ; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought if the Queene had died, he would have married her. The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the Cockpitt new built for lodgings for him, and they say to be made Captain of the Guards in the room of my Lord Gerard. Having thus talked with him, there comes into the Hall Creed and Ned Pickering, and after a turne or two with them, it being noon, I walked with them two to the King's Head ordinary, and there we dined ; little discourse but what was common, only that the Duke of Yorke is a very desperate huntsman. Will brought me word that his uncle Blackburne was ready to speak with me. So I went to him, and he and I to a taverne hard by, and there I begun to speak to Will friendlily, advising him how to carry himself now he is going from under my roof, without any reflections upon the occasion from whence his removal arose. This his uncle seconded, and after laying down to him his duty to me, and what I expect of him, in a discourse of about a quarter of an houre or more, we agreed upon his going this week, and so dismissed him, and Mr. Blackburne<sup>1</sup> and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me : first, in that of religion, he makes it great matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience ; and

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<sup>1</sup> A stanch Puritan.

imputes the losse of Hungary to the Turke from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread: and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves every where, so as that they are hated and laughed at by every body; among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgement, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He do tell me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed every body, and the King also; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me that to his knowledge (being present at every meeting at the Treaty at the Isle of Wight), that the old King did confess himself over-ruled and convinced in his judgement against the

Bishopps, and would have suffered and did agree to exclude the service out of the churches, nay his own chappell ; and that he did always say, that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch by any vyolence ; but what he did was out of his reason and judgement. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatiques, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better : and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must helpe him in the day of warr. For as they are the most, so generally they are the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest ; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets ; but what ? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker ; the lieutenant, a baker ; this a brewer ; that a haberdasher ; this common soldier, a porter ; and every man in his apron and frock, &c. as if they never had done anything else : whereas the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing ; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something ; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other ; and concludes (and I think with some reason,) that the spirits of the old parliament soldiers are so quiett and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then

to the publique management of business : it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself, and his owne lust and luxury ; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose he told me how the Bellamys (who had some of the Northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling) have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or, if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas (which is a very remarkable thing,) he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at Warr here of late, to whom the most of the 120,000*l.* monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so duly, that they seldom had so much or more than 40*s.*, or the like, short in the whole collection ; whereas now the very Commissioners for Assessments and other publique payments are such persons, and those that they choose in the country so like themselves, that from top to bottom there is not a man carefull of any thing, or if he be, he is not solvent : that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen, of whose rise to be a general I had a mind to be informed. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into play. Lawson, and Portman, and the fifth-mon-

archy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be general ; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburne himself did act it, how when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would enquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would with a sigh and casting up the eyes say, "Such a man fears the Lord," or, "I hope such a man hath the Spirit of God," and such things as that. But he tells me that there was a cruel artiling against Pen after one fight, for cowardice, in putting himself within a coyle of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself : and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and see whether this fault or a greater sin was not the occasion of this so great tryall. And he tells me, that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica, is very false ; he knows the contrary : besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, specially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. This he says of his own personal knowledge, and lastly tells me that just upon the turne, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. This he is most certain of. He tells me that Lawson was never counted any thing but only a seaman, and a stout



man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of, that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion, have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are resolved to live and die in quiett hopes of it; but never to repine, or act any thing more than by prayers towards it. And that not only himself but all of them have, and are willing at any time to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburne observed further to me, some certain notice that he had of the present plot<sup>1</sup> so much talked of; that he was told by Mr. Rushworth,<sup>2</sup> how one Captain Oates,<sup>3</sup> a great discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trapan. This, he says, is most true. He

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<sup>1</sup> The plot alluded to is known in Yorkshire by the name of "the Farnley Plot," of which there are many details in Whittaker's "*Loidis and Elmet*." Captain *Thomas* Oates was a conspicuous person in it; but he was not a Discoverer, as he suffered death for his share in the conspiracy. His son was a Discoverer, and hence the mistake, Pepys writing from the vague rumours of the day. The "great Discoverer who did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot," was probably Major Greathead, a Commonwealth officer, whom Oliver Heywood, in his "*Diaries*," calls "that perfidious wretch, guilty of so much blood in the plot business"—a severity of expression in which he did not often allow himself to indulge.

<sup>2</sup> John Rushworth, Clerk assistant to the House of Commons, and author of the *Historical Collections*. Ob. 1690.

<sup>3</sup> Titus Oates.

also, among other instances how the King is served, did much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's guards and militia, which to be sure will fail the King, as they have done already, when there will be occasion for them.

10th. To the office and there late setting down yesterday's remarkable discourses. The Queene, I hear, is now very well again, and that she hath bespoken herself a new gowne.

11th. At noon to the Coffee-house, where with Dr. Allen some good discourse about physique and chymistry. And among other things, I telling him what Dribble the German Doctor do offer of an instrument to sink ships; he tells me that which is more strange, that something made of gold, which they call in chymistry *Aurum Fulminans*, a grain, I think he said, of it put into a silver spoon and fired, will give a blow like a musquett, and strike a hole through the spoon downward, without the least force upward; and this he can make a cheaper experiment of, he says, with iron prepared.

12. To the office, where Sir W. Pen, like a coxcomb, was so ready to cross me in a motion I made unawares for the entering a man at Chatham into the works, wherein I was vexed to see his spleene, but glad to understand it, and that it was in no greater a matter, I being not at all concerned here. After dinner Mr. Moore and I discoursing of my Lord's negligence in attendance at Court, and the discourse the world makes of it, I resolved and took coach to



his lodgings, thinking to speak with my Lord about it without more ado. Here I met Mr. Howe, and he and I largely about it, and he very soberly acquainted me how things are with my Lord, that my Lord do not do anything like himself, but follows his folly, and spends his time either at cards at Court with the ladies, when he is there at all, or else at Chelsy with the slut to his great disgrace, and indeed I do see and believe that my Lord do apprehend that he do grow less too at Court. Anon my Lord do come in, and I begun to fall in discourse with him, but my heart did misgive me that my Lord would not take it well, and then found him not in a humour to talk, and so after a few ordinary words, my Lord not talking in the manner as he uses to do, I took leave, and spent some time with W. Howe again, and told him how I could not do what I had so great a mind and resolution to do, but that I thought it would be as well to do it in writing, which he approves of, and so I took leave of him, and by coach home, my mind being full of it, and in pain concerning it.

13th. After dinner came my perriwigg-maker, and brings me a second periwigg, made of my own haire, which comes to 21s. 6d. more than the worth of my own haire, so that they both come to 4l. 1s. 6d., which he sayth will serve me two years, but I fear it. He being gone, I to my office, and put on my new shagg purple gowne, with gold buttons and loop lace. Here I staid making an end of a troublesome letter, but to my advantage, against Sir W. Batten, giving

Sir G. Carteret an account of our late great contract with Sir W. Warren for masts, wherein I am sure I did the King 600*l.* service.

14th. After dinner Will told me if I pleased he was ready to remove his things, and so before my wife I did give him good counsel, and that his going should not abate my kindnesse for him, if he carried himself well, and so bid "God bless him," and left him to remove his things, the poor lad weeping, but I am apt to think matters will be the better both for him and us. In the evening Mr. Moore came to tell me that he had no opportunity of speaking his mind to my Lord yesterday, and so I am resolved to write to him very suddenly.

15th (Lord's day). In the afternoon drew up a letter to my Lord, stating to him what the world talks concerning him, and leaving it to him and myself to be thought of by him as he pleases, but I have done but my duty in it. I wait Mr. Moore's coming for his advice about sending it. This day being our Queene's birthday, the guns of the Tower went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bon-fires to be made in every streete, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded. After a good supper with my wife, and hearing of the mayds read in the Bible, we to prayers, and to bed.

16th. By coach to White Hall, and there with the Duke where Mr. Coventry did a second time go to vindicate himself against reports, and prove by many

testimonies that he brought that he did nothing but what had been done by the Lord Admiral's Secretaries heretofore, though he do not approve of it, nor, since he had any rule from the Duke hath he exceeded what he is there directed to take.

17th. Mr. Deane of Woolwich came to me, and I did tell him that I did not fear but he would in a little time be master of his enemies as much as they think to master him, and so he did tell me many instances of the abominable dealings of Mr. Pett of Woolwich towards him. With Mr. Moore to my office, and there I read to him the letter I have wrote to send to my Lord, which Mr. Moore do conclude so well drawn that he would not have me by any means to neglect sending it, assuring me in the best of his judgment that it cannot but endear me to my Lord instead of what I fear of getting his offence. So home, Mr. Holliard being come to my wife. I had great discourse with him about my disease. He tells me again that I must eat in a morning some loosening gruel, and at night roasted apples, that I must drink now and then ale with my wine, and eat bread and butter and honey, and rye bread if I can endure it, it being loosening.

18th. By water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been a very great while, and there paid off the Milford in very good order, and all respect showed me in the office as much as there used to be to any of the rest or the whole board. That done at noon I took Captain Terne, and there

coming in by chance Captain Berkeley, him also to dinner with me to the Globe. Captain Berkeley, who was lately come from Algier, did give us a good account of the place, and how the Basha there do live like a prisoner, being at the mercy of the soldiers and officers, so that there is nothing but a great confusion there. I walked home again reading of a little book of new poems of Cowley's, given me by his brother. Abraham do lie, it seems, very sicke still, but like to recover. At my office till late, and then came Mr. Holliard so full of discourse and Latin that I think he hath got a cupp, but I do not know; but full of talke he is in defence of Calvin and Luther. This morning I sent Will with my great letter of reproof to my Lord Sandwich, who did give it into his owne hand. I pray God give a blessing to it, but confess I am afeard what the consequence may be to me of good or bad, which is according to the ingenuity that he do receive it with. However, I am satisfied that it will do him good, and that he needs it.

MY LORD,

I do verily hope that neither the manner nor matter of this advice will be condemned by your Lordship, when for my defence in the first I shall alledge my double attempt, since your return from Hinchingbroke, of doing it personally, in both of which your Lordship's occasions, no doubtfulness of mine, prevented me, and that being now fearful of a sudden summons to Portsmouth, for the discharge of some ships there, I judge it very unbecoming the duty which every bit of bread I eat tells me I owe to your Lordship to expose the safety of your honour to the uncertainty of my return. For the matter,

my Lord, it is such as could I in any measure think safe to conceal from, or likely to be discovered to you by any other hand, I should not have dared so far to owne what from my heart I believe is false, as to make myself but the relater of others' discourse; but, sir, your Lordship's honour being such as I ought to value it to be, and finding both in city and court that discourses pass to your prejudice, too generally for mine or any man's controllings but your Lordship's, I shall, my Lord, without the least greatening or lessening the matter, do my duty in laying it shortly before you.

People of all conditions, my Lord, raise matter of wonder from your Lordship's so little appearance at Court: some concluding thence their disfavour thereby, to which purpose I have had questions asked me, and endeavouring to put off such insinuations by asserting the contrary, they have replied, that your Lordship's living so beneath your quality, out of the way, and declining of Court attendance, hath been more than once discoursed about the King. Others, my Lord, when the chief ministers of State, and those most active of the Council have been reckoned up, wherein your Lordship never used to want an eminent place, have said, touching your Lordship, that now your turn was served, and the King had given you a good estate, you left him to stand or fall as he would, and, particularly in that of the Navy, have enlarged upon your letting fall all service there.

Another sort, and those the most, insist upon the bad report of the house wherein your Lordship, now observed in perfect health again, continues to sojourne, and by name have charged one of the daughters for a common courtizan, alledging both places and persons where and with whom she hath been too well known, and how much her wantonnesse occasions, though unjustly, scandal to your Lordship, and that as well to gratifying of some enemies as to the wounding of more friends I am not able to tell.

Lastly, my Lord, I find a general coldness in all persons towards your Lordship, such as, from my first dependance on

you, I never yet knew, wherein I shall not offer to interpose any thoughts or advice of mine, well knowing your Lordship needs not any. But with a most faithful assurance that no person nor papers under Heaven is privy to what I here write, besides myself and this, which I shall be careful to have put into your owne hands, I rest confident of your Lordship's just construction of my dutifull intents herein, and in all humility take leave, may it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

The foregoing letter was sealed up, and enclosed in this that follows : —

MY LORD,

If this finds your Lordship either not alone, or not at leisure, I beg the suspending your opening of the enclosed till you shall have both, the matter very well bearing such a delay, and in all humility remain, may it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

My servant hath my directions to put this into your Lordship's owne hand, but not to stay for any answer.

19th. With Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Treasurer,<sup>1</sup> to discourse with him about Mr. Gauden's having of money, and to offer to him whether it would not be necessary, Mr. Gauden's credit being so low as it is, to take security of him if he demands any great sum, such as 20,000*l.*, which now ought to be paid him upon his next year's declaration. Which is a sad thing, that being reduced to this by us, we should be

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Southampton. (M. B.)

the first to doubt his credit ; but so it is. However, it will be managed with great tenderness to him. My Lord Treasurer we found in his bed-chamber, being laid up of the gout. I find him a very ready man, and certainly a brave servant to the King : he spoke so quick and sensibly of the King's charge. Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In our way Sir G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade. But not yet. Thence to the Temple, and there visited my cozen Roger Pepys and his brother Dr. John, a couple, methinks, of very ordinary men, and thence to speak with Mr. Moore, and met him by the way, who tells me, to my great content, that he believes my letter to my Lord Sandwich hath wrought well upon him, and that he will look after himself and his business upon it, for he begins already to do so. But I dare not conclude anything till I see him, which shall be to-morrow morning, that I may be out of my pain to know how he takes it of me.

20th. Up, and as soon as I could to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he was gone out before, and so I am defeated of my expectation of being eased one way or other in the business of my Lord. But I went up to Mr. Howe, who I saw this day the first time in a periwig, which becomes him very well. He tells me



that my Lord is of a sudden much changed, and he do believe that he do take my letter well. However, we do both bless God that it hath so good an effect upon him. Thence I home again. My wife tells me that she and her brother have had a great falling out to-night, he taking upon him to challenge great obligation upon her, and taxing her for not being so as she ought to be to her friends, and that she can do more with me than she pretends, and I know not what, but God be thanked she cannot. A great talke there is to-day of a crush between some of the Fanatiques up in arms, and the King's men in the North; but whether true I know not yet.

21st. At noon I receive a letter from Mr. Creed, with a token, viz., a very noble parti-coloured Indian gowne for my wife. The letter is oddly writ, overprizing his present, and little owning any past service of mine, but that this was his genuine respects, and I know not what. I confess I had expectations of a better account from him of my service about his accounts, and so give his boy 12*l.*, and sent it back again, and after having been at the pay of a ship this afternoon at the Treasury, I went by coach to Ludgate, and, by prizing several there, I guess this gowne may be worth about 12*l.* or 15*l.* But, however, I expect at least 50*l.* of him. So in the evening I wrote him a letter telling him clearly my mind, and home to supper and to bed, my mind being pretty well at ease from my letter to Creed, and more for my receipt this afternoon of 17*l.* at the Treasury, for the 17*l.* paid a



year since to the carver for his work at my house, which I did intend to have paid myself, but, finding others to do it, I thought it not amisse to get it too, but I am afeard that we may hear of it to our greater prejudices hereafter.

22nd (Lord's day). I walked as far as the Temple, and there took coach, and to my Lord's lodgings, whom I found ready to go to chappell ; but I coming, he begun, with a very serious countenance, to tell me that he had received my late letter, wherein first he took notice of my care of him and his honour, and did give me thanks for that part of it where I say that from my heart I believe the contrary of what I do there relate to be the discourse of others ; but since I intended it not a reproach, but matter of information, and for him to make a judgment of it for his practice, it was necessary for me to tell him the persons of whom I have gathered the several particulars which I there insist on. I would have made excuses in it ; but, seeing him so earnest in it, I found myself forced to it, and so did tell him Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, in that of his Lordship's living being discoursed of at Court ; a mayde-servant that I kept, that lived at Chelsy school ; and also Mr. Pickering, about the report touching the young woman ; and also Mr. Hunt, in Axe Yard, near whom she lodged. I told him the whole city do discourse concerning his neglect of business ; and so I many times asserting my dutifull intention in all this, and he owning his accepting of it as such. That that troubled me most in particular is,

that he did there assert the civility of the people of the house, and the young gentlewoman, for whose reproach he was sorry. His saying that he was resolved how to live, and that though he was taking a house, meaning to live in another manner, yet it was not to please any people, or to stop report, but to please himself, though this I do believe he might say that he might not seem to me to be so much wrought upon by what I have writ ; and lastly, and most of all, when I spoke of the tenderness that I have used in declaring this to him, there being nobody privy to it, he told me that I must give him leave to except one. I told him that possibly somebody might know of some thoughts of mine, I having borrowed some intelligence in this matter from them, but nobody could say they knew of the thing itself what I writ. This, I confess, however, do trouble me, for that he seemed to speak it as a quick retort, and it must sure be Will. Howe, who did not see anything of what I writ, though I told him indeed that I would write ; but in this, I think, there is no great hurt. I find him, though he cannot but owne his opinion of my good intentions, and so he did again and again profess it, that he is troubled in his mind at it ; and I confess, I think I may have done myself an injury for his good, which, were it to do again, and that I believed he would take it no better, I think I should sit quietly without taking any notice of it, for I doubt there is no medium between his taking it very well or very ill. I could not forbear weeping before him at the latter end,

which, since, I am ashamed of, though I cannot see what he can take it to proceed from but my tenderness and good will to him. After this discourse was ended, he began to talk very cheerfully of other things, and I walked with him to White Hall, and we discoursed of the pictures in the gallery, which, it may be, he might do out of policy, that the boy might not see any strangeness in him ; but I rather think that his mind was somewhat eased, and hope that he will be to me as he was before. But, however, I doubt not when he sees that I follow my business, and become an honour to him, and not to be like to need him, or to be a burden to him, and rather able to serve him than to need him, and if he do continue to follow business, and so come to his right witts again, I do not doubt but he will then consider my faithfulness to him, and esteem me as he ought. At chappell I had room in the Privy Seale pew with other gentlemen, and there heard Dr. Killigrew<sup>1</sup> preach. The anthem was good after sermon, being the fifty-first psalme, made for five voices by one of Captn. Cooke's boys, a pretty boy. And they say there are four or five of them that can do as much. And here I first perceived that the King is a little musically, and kept good time with his hand all along the anthem. I met Mr. Povy, who tells me how Tangier had like to have been betrayed, and that one of the King's officers is come, to whom 8,000

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<sup>1</sup> Henry, youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Master of the Savoy, and author of some plays and sermons. His daughter Anne was the celebrated poetess.

pieces of eight were offered for his part. Hence I to the King's Head ordinary, and there dined, good and much company, and a good dinner: most of their discourse was about hunting, in a dialect I understand very little.

23rd. Up and to Alderman Backewell's, where Sir W. Rider, by appointment, met us to consult about the insuring of our hempe ship from Archangell, in which we are all much concerned, by my Lord Treasurer's command. Thence to St. Paul's Church-yarde, and there bespoke "Rushworth's Collections," and "Scobell's Acts of the Long Parliament," &c., which I will make the King pay for as to the office, and so I do not breake my vowe at all. Back to the coffee-house, and then to the 'Change, where Sir W. Rider and I did bid 15 per cent., and nobody will take it under 20 per cent., and the lowest was 15 per cent. premium, and 15 more to be abated in case of losse, which we did not think fit without order to give, and so we parted, and I home to a speedy, though too good a dinner to eat alone, viz., a good goose and a rare piece of roast beef. With Alderman Backewell talking of the new money, which he says will never be counterfeited, he believes; but it is deadly inconvenient for telling, it is so thick, and the edges are made to turn up. I found him as full of business, and, to speak the truth, he is a very painfull<sup>1</sup> man, and ever was, and now-a days is well paid for it.

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<sup>1</sup> Painstaking. (M. B.)

24th. At noon to the 'Change, where everybody joyed me in our hempe ship's coming safe, and it seems one man, Middleburgh, did give 20 per cent. in gold last night, three or four minutes before the newes came of her being safe. This day our tryall was with Field, and I hear that they have given him 20*l.* damage more, which is a strange thing, but yet not so much as formerly, nor as I was afeard of.

25th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I did present him Mr. Barlow's "Terella,"<sup>1</sup> with which he was very much pleased, and he did show me great kindnesse, and by other discourse I have reason to think that he is not at all, as I feared he would be, discontented against me. To White Hall, to the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, and there advised about insuring the hempe ship at 1½ per cent., notwithstanding her being come to Newcastle. In the evening comes Sir W. Warren, and he and I had admirable discourse. He advised me in things I desired about, bummary, and other ways of putting out money as in parts of ships, how dangerous they are, and lastly fell to talk of the Dutch management of the Navy, and I think will helpe me to some accounts of things of the Dutch Admiralty, which I am mighty desirous to know. He seemed to have been mighty privy with my Lord Albemarle in things before this great turn, and to the King's dallying with him and others for some years before, but I doubt all was not very true.

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<sup>1</sup> See note, Oct. 2nd, 1663. (M. B.)

26th. The plague, it seems, grows more and more at Amsterdam ; and we are going upon making of all ships coming from thence and Hambrough, or any other infected places, to perform their Quarantine (for thirty days as Sir Rd. Browne expressed it in the order of the Council, contrary to the import of the word, though in the general acceptation it signifies now the thing, not the time spent in doing it) in Holehaven, a thing never done by us before.

27th. My wife mightily pleased with my late discourse of getting a trip over to Calis, or some other port of France, the next summer, in one of the yachts, and I believe I shall do it, and it makes good sport that my mayde Jane dares not go, and Besse is wild to go, and is mad for joy, but yet will be willing to stay if Jane hath a mind, which is the best temper in this and all other things that ever I knew in my life.

28th. I met with Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, who tells me for good newes that my Lord Sandwich is resolved to go no more to Chelsy, and told me he believed that I had been giving my Lord some counsel, which I neither denied nor affirmed. To Paul's Church Yarde, and there looked upon the second part of Hudibras, which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cry so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. To-day for certain I am told how in Holland publickly they have pictured our King with reproach. One way is with

his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty ; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets ; and a third, leading of two ladies, while others abuse him ; which amounts to great contempt.

29th (Lord's day). This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlett ribbon, very neat, with my cloake lined with velvett, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons<sup>1</sup> I bought a month ago. I to church alone, my wife not going, and there I found my Lady Batten in a velvet gowne, which vexed me that she should be in it before my wife, or that I am able to put her into one, but what cannot be, cannot be. However, when I came home I told my wife of it, and to see my weaknesse, I could on the sudden have found my heart to have offered her one, but second thoughts put it by, and indeed it would undo me to think of doing as Sir W. Batten and his Lady do, who has a good estate besides his office. A good dinner we had of bœuf à la mode, but not roasted so well as my wife used to do. All the evening making up my accounts of this month, and blessed be God I have got up my crumb again to 770*l.*, the most that ever I had yet, and good clothes a great many besides, which is a great mercy of God to me.

30th. Was called up by a messenger from Sir W. Pen to go with him by coach to White Hall. By the way he began to observe to me some unkind dealing

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<sup>1</sup> See note, May 24th, 1660. (M. B.)



of mine to him a weeke ago, like a coxcomb, when I answered him pretty freely that I would not think myself to owe any man the service to do this or that because they would have it so. At White Hall Sir W. Pen and I met the Duke in the matted Gallery, and there he discoursed with us ; and by and by my Lord Sandwich came and stood by, and talked ; but it being St. Andrew's, and a collar-day, he went to the Chapel, and we parted. To the Coffee-house, where I heard the best story of a cheate intended by a Master of a ship, who had borrowed twice his money upon the bottomary,<sup>1</sup> and as much more insured upon his ship and goods as they were worth, and then would have cast her away upon the coast of France, and there left her, refusing any pilott which was offered him ; and so the Governor of the place took her and sent her over hither to find an owner, and so the ship is come safe, and goods and all ; they all worth 500*l.*, and he had one way or other taken 3,000*l.* The cause is to be tried to-morrow at Guildhall, where I intend to be. In the evening came W. Howe to see me, who tells me that my Lord hath been angry three or four days with him, would not speak to him ; at last did, and charged him with having spoken to me about what he had observed concerning his Lordship, which W. Howe denying stoutly, he was well at ease, and continues very quiett, and is removing from Chelsy as fast as he can, but, methinks, by my Lord's looks

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<sup>1</sup> The act of borrowing money upon a ship's bottom.



upon me to-day, my Lord is not very well pleased, nor, it may be, will be a good while, which vexes me ; but I hope all will over in time, or else I am but ill rewarded for my good service.

December 1st. At noon I home to dinner with my poor wife, with whom now-a-days I enjoy great pleasure in her company and learning of Arithmetique. After dinner I to Guild Hall to hear a tryall at King's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Hide,<sup>1</sup> about the insurance of a ship, the same I mention in my yesterday's journall, where everything was proved how money was so taken up upon bottomary and insurance, and the ship left by the master and seamen upon rocks, where, when the sea fell at the ebb, she must perish. The master was offered helpe, and he did give the pilotts 20 sols to drink to bid them go about their business, saying that the rocks were old, but his ship was new, and that she was repaired for 6*l*. and less all the damage that she received, and is now brought by one, sent for on purpose by the insurers, into the Thames, with her cargo, vessels of tallow daubed over with butter, instead of all butter, the whole not worth above 500*l*., ship and all, and they had took up, as appeared, above 2,400*l*. He had given his men money to content them ; and yet, for all this, he did bring some of them to swear that it was very stormy weather, and they did all they could to save her, and that she was seven feete deep water in hold, and were fain to

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Hyde, ob. 1665.

cut her main and foremast, that the master was the last man that went out, and they were fain to force him out when she was ready to sink ; and her rudder broke off, and she was drawn into the harbour after they were gone, as wrecke all broken, and goods lost : that she could not be carried out again without new building, and many other things so contrary as is not imaginable more. There was all the great counsel in the kingdom in the cause ; but after one witnesse or two for the plaintiff, it was cried down as a most notorious cheate ; and so the jury, without going out, found it for the plaintiff. But it was pleasant to see what mad sort of testimonys the seamen did give, and could not be got to speak in order : and then their terms such as the Judge could not understand ; and to hear how sillily the Counsel and Judge would speak as to the terms necessary in the matter, would make one laugh : and above all, a Frenchman that was forced to speak in French, and took an English oathe he did not understand, and had an interpreter sworn to tell us what he said, which was the best testimony of all. I heard other causes, and saw the course of pleading, and learnt two things : one is that every man has a right of passage in, but not a title to, any highway. The next, that the Judge would not suffer Mr. Crow, who hath fined for Alderman, to be called so, but only Mister, and did eight or nine times fret at it, and stop every man that called him so.

3rd. Some one from Portsmouth, I know not who, has this day sent me a Runlett of Tent. This day

Sir G. Carteret did tell us at the table, that the Navy (excepting what is due to the Yards upon the quarter now going on, and what few bills he hath not heard of) is quite out of debt; which is extraordinary good newes, and upon the 'Change to hear how our credit goes as good as any merchant's upon the 'Change is a joyfull thing to consider, which God continue! I am sure the King will have the benefit of it, as well as we some peace and credit.

4th. By water cold and wet and windy to Woolwich, to a hemye ship there, and staid looking upon it and giving direction as to the getting it ashore, and so back again very cold, and so all the afternoon till night, and then home to keep my poor wife company.

5th. The whole board with myself along with Captain Allen to dinner, where he lives hard by in Mark Lane, where we had a very good plain dinner and good welcome. To my office till 9 or 10 at night, and so home to supper and to bed after some talke and Arithmetique with my poor wife, with whom now-a-days I live with great content, out of all trouble of mind by jealousy (for which God forgive me), or any other distraction more than my fear of my Lord Sandwich's displeasure.

6th (Lord's day). To church alone, and my wife and I all the afternoon at arithmetique, and she is come to do Addition, Subtraction, and Multiplicacion very well, and so I purpose not to trouble her yet with Division, but to begin with the Globes with her now. To my office, and spent an houre or two reading

Rushworth, and so home, finding myself by cold to have some pain begin, which God defend should increase.

7th. At White Hall I hear and find that there was the last night the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river : all White Hall having been drowned. Anon we all met, and up with the Duke and did our business, and by and by my Lord of Sandwich came in, but whether it be my doubt or no I cannot tell, but I do not find that he made any sign of kindnesse or respect to me, which troubles me more than anything in the world. I met Dr. Clerke, and did tell him my story of my health ; I then fell to other discourse of Dr. Knapp, who tells me he is the King's physician, and is become a solicitor for places for people, and I am mightily troubled with him. He tells me he is the most impudent fellow in the world, that gives himself out to be the King's physician, but it is not so, but he is cast out of the Court. From thence I may learn what impudence there is in the world, and how a man may be deceived in persons. At White Hall ; and anon the King and Duke and Duchesse came to dinner in the vane-roome, where I never saw them before ; but it seems since the tables are done, he dines there alltogether. The Queene is pretty well, and goes out of her chamber to her little chappell in the house. The King of France, they say, is hiring of sixty sail of ships of the Dutch, but it is not said for what design.

8th. To White Hall, where a great while walked

with my Lord Teviott, whom I find a most carefull, thoughtfull, and cunning man, as I also ever took him to be. He is this day bringing in an account where he makes the King debtor to him 10,000*l.* already on the garrison of Tangier account; but yet demands not ready money to pay it, but offers such ways of paying it out of the sale of old decayed provisions as will enrich him finely. Anon came my Lord Sandwich, and then we fell to our business about my Lord Teviott's accounts, wherein I took occasion to speak now and then, so as my Lord Sandwich did well seem to like of it, and after we were up did bid me good night in a tone that, methinks, he is not so displeased with me as I did doubt he is; however, I will take a course to know whether he be or no.

9th. To the office, from thence I was called by and by to my wife. So to her, and found her in great pain. Then abroad to look out a cradle to burn charcoal in at my office, and I found one to my mind in Newgate Market, and so meeting Hoby's man, I spoke to him to serve it into the office for the King. This day Mrs. Russell did give my wife a very fine St. George in alabaster, which will set out my wife's closett mightily. This evening at the office, after I had wrote my day's passages, there came to me my cozen Angier of Cambridge, poor man, making his moan, and obtained of me that I would send his son to sea as a Reformado,<sup>1</sup> which I will take care to do. But to see how apt

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<sup>1</sup> See note, 6th April, 1660. (M. B.)

every man is to forget friendship in time of adversity. How glad was I when he was gone, for fear he should ask me to be bond for him, or to borrow money of me.

10th. To the office, where we sat all the morning, and I confess having received so lately a token from Mrs. Russell, I did find myself concerned for our not buying some tallow of her (which she bought on purpose yesterday most unadvisedly to her great losse upon confidence of putting it off to us). So hard it is for a man not to be warped against his duty and master's interest that receives any bribe or present, though not as a bribe, from any body else. But she must be contented, and I to do her a good when I can without wrong to the King's service. Then home to dinner, and did drink a glass of wine and beer, the more for joy that this is the shortest day<sup>1</sup> in the year, which is a pleasant consideration. Having a messenger from my brother, that he is not well nor stirs out of doors, I went forth to see him. I found him taking order for the distribution of Mrs. Ramsey's coles, a thing my father for many years did, and now he after him, which I was glad to see. Thence to St. Paul's Church Yarde, to my bookseller's, and having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or 3*l*., I did here sit two or three hours calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great losse where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to lay-

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<sup>1</sup> Old style. (M. B.)

ing out money in this trade. I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in ; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthys, the Cabbala or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure : and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by linke home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth ; and so home to supper and to-bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, to-day, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying ; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again ; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's : the story of Henry the Eighth with all his wives.

11th. Going out Mr. Clerke met me to tell me that Field has a writ against me in this last business of 30*l.* 10*s.*, and that he believes he will get an execution against me this morning, and though he told me it could not be well before noon, and that he would stop it at the Sheriff's, yet it is hard to believe with what fear I did walk and how I did doubt at every man I saw and do start at the hearing of one man cough behind my neck. At my bookseller's and bought at a shop Cardinall Mazarin's Will in French. I to the



Coffeehouse and there among others had good discourse with an Iron Merchant, who tells me the great evil of discouraging our natural manufacture of England in that commodity by suffering the Swede to bring in three times more than ever they did and our owne Ironworks be lost, as almost half of them, he says, are already. Then I went and sat by Mr. Harrington, and some East country merchants, and talking of the country about Quinsborough,<sup>1</sup> and thereabouts, he told us himself that for fish, none there, the poorest body, will buy a dead fish, but must be alive, unless it be in winter; and then they told us the manner of putting their nets into the water. Through holes made in the thick ice, they will spread a net of half a mile long; and he hath known a hundred and thirty and a hundred and seventy barrells of fish taken at one draught. And then the people come with sledges upon the ice, with snow at the bottome, and lay the fish in and cover them with snow, and so carry them to market. And he hath seen when the said fish have

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<sup>1</sup> Quinsborough is Königsberg. It is most probable that Mr. Harrington had been reading "The Travels of Master George Barkley, Merchant of London," as given by Purchas, ii., 625, 627. Königsberg is there spelled Kinninsburge, easily corrupted by Pepys into *Quinsborough*. The swallow story is found at p. 626: — "One here in his net drew up a company or heape of swallows, as big as a bushell, fastened by the leg and bills in one, which being carried to their stoves, quickened and flew, and coming again suddenly in the cold air, dyed." It appears to have been generally believed. In the "Advice to a Painter" (1667), attributed to Sir John Denham, we find the following lines: —

"So swallows buried in the sea at Spring  
Return to land with Summer in their [on the?] wing."



been frozen in the sledge, so as that he hath taken a fish and broke a-pieces, so hard it hath been ; and yet the same fishes taken out of the snow, and brought into a hot room, will be alive and leap up and down. Swallows are often brought up in their nets out of the mudd from under water, hanging together to some twigg or other, dead in ropes, and brought to the fire will come to life. Fowl killed in December (Alderman Barker said) he did buy, and putting into the box under his sledge, did forget to take them out to eate till Aprill next, and they then were found there, and were through the frost as sweet and fresh and eat as well as at first killed. Young beares are there ; their flesh sold in market as ordinarily as beef here, and is excellent sweet meat. They tell us that beares there do never hurt any body, but fly away from you, unless you pursue and set upon them ; but wolves do much mischief. Mr. Harrington told us how they do to get so much honey as they send abroad. They make hollow a great fir-tree, leaving only a small slitt down straight in one place, and this they close up again, only leave a little hole, and there the bees go in and fill the bodys of those trees as full of wax and honey as they can hold ; and the inhabitants at times go and open the slit, and take what they please without killing the bees, and so let them live there still and make more. Fir trees are always planted close together, because of keeping one another from the violence of the windes ; and when a fellit is made, they leave here and there a grown tree to preserve the young

ones coming up. The great entertainment and sport of the Duke of Corland, and the princes thereabouts, is hunting; which is not with dogs as we, but he appoints such a day, and summons all the country-people as to a campagnia; and by several companies gives every one their circuit, and they agree upon a place where the toyle is to be set; and so making fires every company as they go, they drive all the wild beasts, whether bears, wolves, foxes, swine, and stags, and roes, into the toyle; and there the great men have their stands in such and such places, and shoot at what they have a mind to, and that is their hunting. They are not very populous there, by reason that people marry women seldom till they are towards or above thirty; and men thirty or forty, or more oftentimes, years old. Against a publique hunting the Duke sends that no wolves be killed by the people; and whatever harm they do, the Duke makes it good to the person that suffers it: as Mr. Harrington instanced in a house where he lodged, where a wolfe broke into a hog-stye, and bit three or four great pieces off the back of the hog, before the house could come to helpe it; and the man of the house told him that there were three or four wolves thereabouts that did them great hurt; but it was no matter, for the Duke was to make it good to him, otherwise he would kill them.

12th. We had this morning a great dispute between Mr. Gauden, Victualler of the Navy, and Sir J. Lawson, and the rest of the Commanders going against Argier, about their fish and keeping of Lent; which

Mr. Gauden so much insists upon to have it observed, as being the only thing that makes up the loss of his dear bargain all the rest of the year. At noon went home and there I found that one Abrahall, who strikes in for the serving of the King with Ship Chandlery ware, has sent my wife a Japan gowne, which pleases her very well and me also, it coming very opportune, but I know not how to carry myself to him, I being already obliged so far to Mrs. Russell, so that I am in both their pays. I brought Luellin home to dinner with me. He tells me that W. Symon's wife is dead, for which I am sorry, she being a good woman, and tells me an odde story of her saying before her death, being in good sense, that there stood her uncle Scobell. Then he began to tell me that Mr. Deering had been with him to desire him to speak to me that if I would get him off with these goods upon his hands, he would give me 50 pieces, and further that if I would stand his friend to helpe him to the benefit of his patent as the King's merchant, he could spare 200*l.* per annum out of his profits. I was glad to hear both of these, but answered him no further than that as I would not by any thing be bribed to be unjust in my dealings, so I was not so squeamish as not to take people's acknowledgment where I had the good fortune by my pains to do them good and just offices, and so I would not come to be at any agreement with him, but I would labour to do him this service and to expect his consideration thereof afterwards as he thought fit. This day I heard my Lord Barkeley

tell Sir G. Carteret that he hath letters from France that the King hath unduked twelve Dukes, only to show his power and to crush his nobility, who he said he did see had heretofore laboured to cross him. And this my Lord Barkeley did mightily magnify, as a sign of a brave and vigorous mind, that what he saw fit to be done he dares do.

13th (Lord's day). Up and made me ready for Church, and after sermon home, and before dinner reading my vowes, and in the evening to my office to read Rushworth upon the charge and answer of the Duke of Buckingham, which is very fine.

14th. To the Duke, where I heard a large discourse between one that goes over an agent from the King to Legorne and thereabouts, to remove the inconveniences his ships are put to by denial of pratique; which is a thing that is now-a-days made use of only as a cheat, for a man may buy a bill of health for a piece of eight, and my enemy may agree with the Intendent of the Santé for ten pieces of eight or so, that he shall not give me a bill of health, and so spoil me in my design, whatever it be. This the King will not endure, and so resolves either to have it removed, or to keep all ships from coming in, or going out there, so long as his ships are stayed for want hereof. But among other things, Lord! what an account did Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten make of the pulling down and burning of the head of the Charles,<sup>1</sup> where

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<sup>1</sup> The ship "Charles," at Chatham.

Cromwell was placed with people under his horse, and Peter,<sup>1</sup> as the Duke called him, is praying to him ; and Sir J. Minnes would needs infer the temper of the people from their joy at the doing of this and their building a gibbet for the hanging of his head up, when, God knows, it is even the flinging away of 100*l.* out of the King's purse, to the building of another, which it seems must be a Neptune. To my Lord's lodging, where I found my Lord got before me and was there trying some musique, which he intends for an anthem of three parts. But it did trouble me to hear him swear before God and other oathes, as he did now and then without any occasion, which methinks did so ill become him, and I hope will be a caution for me, it being so ill a thing in him. The musique being done, without showing me any good or ill countenance, he did give me his hat and so adieu. He being gone I and Mr. Howe talked a good while. He tells me that my Lord, it is true, for a while after my letter, was displeased, and did shew many slightings of me, but when I did hear how he is come to himself, and hath wholly left Chelsy, and the slut, and that I see he do follow his business, and becomes in better repute than before, I am rejoiced to see it, though it do cost me some disfavour for a time. To the King's Head ordinary, and there dined among a company of fine gentlemen ; some of them discoursed of the King of France's greatness,

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Peters.

and how he is come to make the Princes of the Blood to take place of all foreign Embassadors, which it seems is granted by them of Venice and other States, and expected from my Lord Hollis,<sup>1</sup> our King's Embassador there; and that either upon that score or something else he hath not had his entry yet in Paris, but hath received several affronts, and among others his harnesse cut, and his gentlemen of his horse killed, which will breed bad blood if true. They say also that the King of France hath hired threescore ships of Holland, and forty of the Swede, but nobody knows what to do; but some great designs he hath on foot against the next year. With Sir W. Warren who did give me excellent discourse. Then we fell to talk of Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's burning of Oliver's head, while he was there; which was done with so much insulting and folly as I never heard of, and had the trayned band of Rochester to come to the solemnity, which when all comes to all, Commissioner Pett says it never was made for him; but it troubles me the King should suffer 100*l.* losse in his purse, to make a new one, after it was forgot whose it was, or any words spoke of it.

15th. Before I was up, my brother's man came to tell me that my cozen, Edward Pepys, was dead at Mrs. Turner's, for which my wife and I are very sorry, and the more for that his wife was the only handsome

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<sup>1</sup> Denzil Hollis, second son of John, first Earl of Clare, created in 1661 Baron Hollis of Ifield, afterwards Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Breda. Ob. 1679-80, aged 82.



woman of our name. At dinner comes a messenger from the counter with an execution against me for the 30*l.* 10*s.*, given the last verdict to Field. I sent Griffin with him to the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten was at dinner, and he being satisfied that I should pay the money, I did cause the money to be paid him, and Griffin to tell it out to him in the office. Late with Sir W. Warren upon very serious discourse ; he did give me most admirable advice, and such as do speak him a most able and worthy man, and understanding seven times more than ever I thought to be in him. He did particularly run over every one of the officers and commanders, and shewed me how I had reason to mistrust every one of them, either for their falsenesse or their overgreat power, being too high to fasten a real friendship in, and did give me a common but a most excellent [saying] to observe in all my life. He did give it in rhyme, but the sense was this, that a man should treat every friend in his discourse and opening his mind to him as of one that may hereafter be his foe. He did also advise me how I should take occasion to make known to the world my case, and the pains that I take in my business, and above all to be sure to get a thorough knowledge in my employment, and to that add all the interest at Court that I can, which I hope I shall do.

17th. To Mrs. Turner, where I find her and her sister Dike very sad for the death of their brother. After a little common expression of sorrow, Mrs. Turner told me that the trouble she would put me

to was, to consult about getting an achievement prepared, scutcheons were done already, to set over the door. So I did go out to Mr. Smith's, where my brother tells me the scutcheons are made, but he not being within, I went to the Temple, and there spent my time in a Bookseller's shop, reading in a book of some Embassages into Moscovia, &c., where was very good reading, and then to Mrs. Turner's, and thither came Smith to me, with whom I did agree for 4*l.* to make a handsome one, ell square within the frame. After he was gone I sat an houre talking of the suddennesse of his death within 7 days, and how by little and little death came upon him, neither he nor they thinking it would come to that.

18th. I took water (taking a dram of the bottle at the waterside) with a gally, the first that ever I had yet, and down to Woolwich, calling at Ham Creeke, where I met Mr. Deane, and had a great deal of talke with him about business, and so to the Ropeyarde and Docke, and did the like at Deptford, and I find that it is absolutely necessary for me to do thus once a weeke at least all the yeare round, which will do me great good, and so home with great ease and content, especially out of the content which I met with in a book I bought yesterday, being a discourse of the state of Rome under the present Pope, Alexander the 7th, it being a very excellent piece. After eating something at home, then to my office, where till night about business to dispatch. Among other people came Mr. Primate, the leather seller, in Fleete Streete,



to see me, he says, coming this way ; and he tells me that he is upon a proposal to the King, whereby, by a law already in being, he will supply the King, without wrong to any man, or charge to the people in general, so much as it is now, above 200,000*l.* per annum, and God knows what, and that the King do like the proposal, and hath directed that the Duke of Monmouth, with their consent, be made privy, and go along with him and his fellow proposer in the business, God knows what it is ; for I neither can guess nor believe there is any such thing in his head.

19th. To Mrs. Turner's, whom I find busy with Sir W. Turner, about advising upon going down to Norfolk with the corps, and I find him in talke a sober, considering man. So home to my office late, and then to supper and to bed. My head full of business, but pretty good content.

20th (Lord's day). Up and alone to church, where a common sermon of Mr. Mills, and so home to dinner in our parler, my wife being clean, and in the afternoon went with me to church also, and there begun to take her place above Mrs. Pen, which heretofore out of a humour she was wont to give her as an affront to my Lady Batten. After a dull sermon of the Scotchman, home, and there I found my brother Tom and my two cozens Scotts, he and she, the first time they were ever here. We were as merry as I could be with people that I do wish well to, but know not what discourse either to give them or find from them. We showed them our house from top to

bottom, and had a good Turkey roasted for our supper, and store of wine, and after supper sent them away on foot, and so we to prayers and to bed.

21st. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I had a pretty kind salute from my Lord, and went on to the Duke's and did our business, and so broke up, and I to Mrs. Turner's, and there saw the achievement pretty well set up, and it is well done. Thence I on foot to Charing Crosse to the ordinary, and there dined, meeting Mr. Gauden and Creed. After dinner won a wager of a payre of gloves of a crowne of Mr. Gauden upon some words in his contract for victualing. Being directed by sight of bills upon the wall I did go to Shoe Lane<sup>1</sup> to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a sport I was never at in my life; but Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament-man (by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor) to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another in swearing, cursing, and betting. I soon had enough of it, and yet I would not but have seen it once, it being strange to observe the nature of these poor creatures, how they will fight till they drop down dead upon the table, and strike after they are ready to give up the ghost, not offering to run away when they are weary or wounded past doing further, whereas

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<sup>1</sup> See "Handbook of London," art. Shoe Lane; and Thoms's "Anecdotes and Traditions," p. 47, for what took place at the cock-fighting in Shoe Lane.

where a dunghill brood comes he will, after a sharp stroke that pricks him, run off the stage, and then they wring off his neck without more ado, whereas the other they preserve, though their eyes be both out, for breed only of a true cock of the game. Sometimes a cock that has had ten to one against him will by chance give an unlucky blow, will strike the other starke dead in a moment, that he never stirs more; but the common rule is, that though a cock neither runs nor dies, yet if any man will bet 10*l.* to a crowne, and nobody take the bet, the game is given over, and not sooner. One thing more it is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at one bet, and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle (so they call every match of two cocks), so that one of them will lose 10*l.* or 20*l.* at a meeting. Thence, having enough of it, by coach to my Lord Sandwich's, where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, Dr. Childe, Mr. Madge, and Mallard, playing and singing over my Lord's anthem which he hath made to sing in the King's Chappell: my Lord took me into the withdrawing-room to hear it at a distance, and indeed it sounds very finely, and is a good thing, I believe to be made by him, and they all commend it. And after that was done Captain Cooke and his two boys did sing some Italian songs, which I must in a word say I think was fully the best musique that I ever yet heard in all my life. After all musique ended, my

Lord going to White Hall, I went along with him, and made a desire for to have his coach to go along with my cozen Edward Pepys's hearse through the City on Wednesday next, which he granted me presently, though he cannot yet come to speak to me in the familiar stile that he did use to do, nor can I expect it.

22nd. Up and there comes my she cozen Angier, of Cambridge, to me to speak about her son. But though I love them, and have reason so to do, yet Lord! to consider how cold I am to speak to her, for fear of giving her too much hopes of expecting either money or anything else from me besides my care of her son. I hear for certain that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist, which the Queene for all do not much like, thinking that she do it not for conscience sake.<sup>1</sup> I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's to the losse of one of his eyes; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlin did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice, did it; but upon petition to the King it was opened again.<sup>2</sup> At noon I to Sir R.

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<sup>1</sup> "Le mariage du Chevalier de Grammont" (*says the Count d'Estrades in a letter written to his Royal Master, Louis XIV. about this time*), "et la conversion de Madame de Castlemaine se sont publiez le meme jour: et le Roy d'Angleterre estant tant priè par les parents de la Dame d'aporter quelque obstacle à cette action, repondit galamment que pour l'âme des Dames, il ne s'en mêloit point."

<sup>2</sup> Rugee adds, that the Queen was in the carriage when the battle took

Ford's, where Sir Richard Browne and I met upon the freight of a barge sent to France to the Duchesse of Orleans ; and here by discourse I find they greatly cry out against the choice of Sir John Cutler to be treasurer of Paul's, upon condition that he gives 1,500*l.* towards it ; and it seems he did give it upon condition that he might be treasurer for the work, which, they say, will be worth three times as much money ; and talk as if his being chosen to the office will make people backward to give, but I think him as likely a man as either of them, and better. Home, and had a letter from W. Howe that my Lord hath ordered his coach and six horses for me to-morrow, which pleases me mightily to think that my Lord should do so much, hoping thereby that his anger is a little over. After dinner abroad with my wife by coach to Westminster, and I perceive the King and Duke and all the Court was going to the Duke's play-house to see "Henry VIII." acted, which is said to be an admirable play. But, Lord ! to see how near I was to have broke my oathe, or run the hazard of 20*s.* losse, so much my nature was hot to have gone thither ; but I did not go.

23rd. Up betimes and my wife ; and being in as mourning a dress as we could, at present, without cost, put ourselves into, we by Sir W. Pen's coach to Mrs. Turner's, at Salisbury Court, where I find my

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place, her coachman striking the first blow ; and that the combatants fought a long time, nobody coming to part them. The Exchange was not re-opened till the man who injured the royal servant had been given up.

Lord's coach and six horses. We staid till almost eleven o'clock, and much company came, and anon, the corps being put into the hearse, and the scutch-eons set upon it, we all took coach, and I and my wife and Auditor Beale in my Lord Sandwich's coach, and went next to Mrs. Turner's mourning coach, and so through all the City and Shoreditch, I believe about twenty coaches, and four or five with six and four horses. Being come thither, I made up to the mourners, and bidding them a good journey, I took leave and back again, and setting my wife into a hackney coach out of Bishopsgate Street, I sent her home, and I to the 'Change and did much business, and so home to dinner to my great content to see God bless me in my place and opening honest ways, I hope to get a little money to lay up and yet to live handsomely.

24th. Up betimes, and though it was a most foggy morning, and cold, yet with a gally down to Eriffe,<sup>1</sup> several times being at a loss whither we went. There I mustered two ships of the King's, lent by him to the Guiny Company, which are manned better than ours at far less wages. Thence on board two of the King's, one of them the "Leopard," Captain Beech, who I find an able and serious man. Here was also Sir G. Carteret's son, who I find a pretty, but very talking man, but good humour. Thence back again, entertaining myself upon my sliding rule with great content. At home found my wife making mince pies, and by

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<sup>1</sup> Erith. (M. B.)

and by comes in Captain Ferrers to see us, and, among other talke, tells us of the goodness of the new play of "Henry VIII.," which makes me think it long till my time is out; but I hope before I go I shall set myself such a stint as I may not forget myself as I have hitherto done till I was forced for these months last past wholly to forbid myself the seeing of one.

25th. My wife begun, I know not whether by design or chance, to enquire what she should do if I should by any accident die, to which I did give her some slight answer; but shall make good use of it to bring myself to some settlement for her sake, by making a will as soon as I can. To church, where Mr. Mills made an ordinary sermon. In the afternoon I began to read to my wife upon the globes with great pleasure and to good purpose, for it will be pleasant to her and to me to have her understand these things. Late reading Rushworth, which is a most excellent collection of the beginning of the late quarrels in this kingdom.

26th. Up and walked first to the Minerys to Brown's, and there with great pleasure saw and bespoke several instruments, and so to Cornhill to Mr. Cades, and there went up into his warehouse to look for a map or two, and there finding great plenty of good pictures, God forgive me! how my mind run upon them, and bought a little one for my wife's closett presently,<sup>1</sup> and concluded presently<sup>1</sup> of buying

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<sup>1</sup> Forthwith. (M. B.)



10*l.* worth. Thence to the Coffee-house, and sat long in good discourse with some gentlemen concerning the Roman Empire. So home and found Mr. Holl-yard there, and he dined with us, we having a pheasant to dinner. He gone, I all the afternoon with my wife to cards. So to my office writing letters, and then to read and make an end of Rushworth, which I did, and do say that it is a book the most worth reading for a man of my condition or any man that hopes to come to any publique condition in the world that I do know.

27th. Up and to church alone and so home to dinner with my wife very pleasant and pleased with one another's company and in our general enjoyment one of another, better we think than most other couples do. So after dinner to the French church, but came too late, and so back to our owne church. Home to supper, discourse, prayers, and bed.

28th. Walking through White Hall I heard the King was gone to play at Tennis, so I down to the New Tennis Court, and saw him and Sir Arthur Slingsby play against my Lord of Suffolke and my Lord Chesterfield. The King beat three, and lost two sets, they all, and he particularly playing well, I thought. Thence went and spoke with the Duke of Albemarle about his wound at Newhall, but I find him a heavy dull man, methinks, by his answers to me.<sup>1</sup> The Duchesse of York is fallen sicke of the meazles.

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<sup>1</sup> It is a pity that Pepys, instead of hazarding this absurd remark, did not



29th. Sir W. Pen came like a cunning rogue to sit and talk with me about office business and freely about the Comptroller's business of the office, to which I did give him free answers and let him make the best of them. But I know him to be a knave, and do say nothing that I fear to have said again.

30th. Up betimes and by coach to my Lord Sandwich, who I met going out, and he did aske me how his cozen, my wife, did, the first time he hath done so since his being offended, and, in my conscience, he would be glad to be free with me again, but he knows not how to begin. So to Mr. Coventry, where I saw Mr. Ch. Pett bringing him a modell, and indeed it is a pretty one, for a New Year's gift; but I think the work not better done than mine. To the Coffee-house, whither came Mr. Grant and Sir W. Petty, with whom I talked, and so did many, almost all the house there, about his new vessel, wherein he did give me such satisfaction in every point that I am confident she will prove an admirable invention.

31st. To dinner, my wife and I, a fine turkey and a mince pie, and dined in state, poor wretch, she and I, and have thus kept our Christmas together all alone

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tell us something more about the Duke of Albemarle's wound, no other allusion to which has been found; but perhaps he was prejudiced by the hasty and ill-founded opinion of Lord Sandwich, who, as we have seen, "Diary," May 3, 1660, termed Monk a thick-skulled fool. In fact, that great man must have possessed no slight portion of worldly wisdom and common sense. Hal-  
lam, whilst differing from Hume as to Monk's dissimulation, regards his conduct after the King's return as displaying his accustomed prudence. This is not a feature in the character of a *thick-skulled fool*. Monsieur Guizot takes a similar view of Monk's good sound sense.

almost, having not once been out, but to-morrow my vowes are all out as to plays and wine, but I hope I shall not be long before I come to new ones, so much good, and God's blessing, I find to have attended them. At the Coffee-house, hearing some simple discourse about Quakers being charmed by a string about their wrists. I bless God I do, after a large expense, even this month, find that I am worth in money, besides all my household stuff, or anything of Brampton, above 800*l.*, whereof in my Lord Sandwich's hand, 700*l.*, and the rest in my hand. I do live at my lodgings in the Navy Office, my family being, besides my wife and I, Jane Gentleman, Besse, our excellent, good-natured cook-mayde, and Susan, a little girle, having neither man nor boy, nor like to have again a good while, living now in most perfect content and quiett, and very frugally also ; my health pretty good. At the office I am well, though envied to the devil by Sir William Batten, who hates me to death, but cannot hurt me. The rest either love me, or at least do not show otherwise, though I know Sir W. Pen to be a false knave touching me, though he seems fair. My father and mother well in the country ; and at this time the young ladies of Hinchingbroke with them, their house having the small-pox in it. The Queene after a long and sore sicknesse is become well again ; and the King minds his mistresse a little too much, if it pleased God ! but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty whatever comes of it. The great talke is the

designs of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spayne nobody knows ; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. My wife's brother come to great unhappiness by the ill-disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty, which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great fortune. At present I am concerned for my cozen Angier, of Cambridge, lately broke in his trade, and this day am sending his son John, a very rogue, to sea. My brother Tom I know not what to think of, for I cannot hear whether he minds his business or not ; and my brother John at Cambridge, with as little hopes of doing good there, for when he was here he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Pall with my father, and God knows what she do there, or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other. The Duchesse of York, at this time, sicke of the meazles, is growing well again. The Turke very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a losse what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God ! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also ; which God continue ! So ends the old year.

January 1st, 1663-4. At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and

handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's,<sup>1</sup> a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth 80,000*l*. Thence to my uncle Wight's, where Dr. —, among others, dined, and the Drs. discourse did please me very well about the disease of the stone, above all things extolling Turpentine, which he told me how it might be taken in pills with great ease. There was brought to table a hot pie made of a swan I sent them yesterday. My wife and I rose from table, pretending business, and went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vowe, and here saw the so much cried-up play of "Henry the Eighth;" which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done. Thence mightily dissatisfied back at night to my uncle Wight's, and supped with them, but against my stomach out of the offence the sight of my aunt's hands gives me.

2nd. After dinner I took my wife out, for I do find that I am not able to conquer myself as to going to plays till I come to some new vowe concerning it, and that I am now come to, that is to say, that I will not see above one in a month at any of the publique

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Gold, or Gould, created a Baronet in 1660, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Garrard, Bart., of Lamers, Herts. She remarried Thomas Neal. See June 20, 1664, *post*.

theatres till the sum of 50s. be spent, and then none before New Year's Day next, unless that I do become worth 1,000*l.* sooner than then, and then am free to come to some other terms, and so to the King's house, and saw "The Usurper,"<sup>1</sup> which is no good play, though better than what I saw yesterday.

3rd (Lord's day). Within all day, looking over and settling my accounts in good order, by examining all my books, and the kitchen accounts. This evening Sir W. Pen came to invite me against next Wednesday, being twelfth day, to his usual feast, his wedding day.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not being up, I to the Duke's chamber, and there by and by to his closett, where since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which is a very pretty one. After doing business here, I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he told me among other Court newes, how the Queene is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrases: as among others this is mightily cried up; that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse so well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. Thence to the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at Tennis and others: but

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<sup>1</sup> A Tragedy, by the Hon. Edward Howard.

to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well and deserved to be commended ; but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Parke, seeing people play at Pell Mell ; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man (a spruce blade) to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall.<sup>1</sup> My wife is mighty sad to think of her father, who is going into Germany against the Turkes ; but what will become of her brother I know not. He is so idle, and out of all capacity, I think, to earn his bread.

6th (Twelfth day). To dinner with my poor wife, and after dinner read a lecture to her in Geography, which she takes very prettily and with great pleasure to her and me to teach her, and so to the office again, where as busy as ever in my life, one thing after another. This morning I began a practice which I find by the ease I do it with that I shall continue, it saving me money and time ; that is, to trimme myself with a razer : which pleases me mightily.

7th. Up, putting on my best clothes and to the office. At noon, all of us to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where a very handsome dinner, Sir J. Lawson among

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<sup>1</sup> When Egerton was Bishop of Durham, he often played at bowls with his guests on the public days. On an occasion of this sort, a visitor happening to cross the lawn, one of the Chaplains exclaimed, "You must not shake the green, for the Bishop is going to bowl."



others, and his lady and his daughter, a very pretty lady and of good deportment, with looking upon whom I was greatly pleased. But to see how Sir W. Pen imitates me in everything, even in his having his chimney piece in his dining room the same with that in my wife's closett, and in every thing else I perceive wherein he can. But to see again how he was out in one compliment: he lets alone drinking any of the ladies' healths that were there, my Lady Batten and Lawson, till he had begun with my Lady Carteret, who was absent, and that was well enough, and then Mr. Coventry's mistresse, at which he was ashamed, and would not have had him have drunk it, at least before the ladies present, but his policy, as he thought, was such that he would do it.

8th. By appointment took Luellin, Mount, and W. Symons, and Mr. Pierce, the chirurgeon, home to dinner with me and were merry. But, Lord! to hear how W. Symons do commend and look sadly and then talk merrily, though his wife was dead but the other day, would make a dogg laugh. We spent all the afternoon together and then they to cards with my wife, who this day put on her Indian blue gowne which is very pretty, where I left them and to my office. We had great pleasure this afternoon; among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder to-day when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year (the year

1659, which were indeed, and he did name them all), and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz. that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamt of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change a great talke there was of one Mr. Tryan, an old man, a merchant in Lyme-Streete, robbed last night (his man and mayde being gone out after he was a-bed), and gagged and robbed of 1,050*l.* in money and about 4,000*l.* in jewells, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed by many circumstances that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which however I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expence. Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoken to her to have come to dress my wife at the time my Lord dines here.

10th (Lord's day). My brother Tom being come to see me, we to dinner, he telling me how Mrs. Turner found herself discontented with her late bad journey, and not well taken by them in the country,



they not desiring her coming down, nor the buriall of Mr. Edward Pepys's corps there.<sup>1</sup> At night my wife and I to my uncle Wight's and there eat some of their swan pie which was good, and I invited them to my house to eat a roasted swan on Tuesday next, which after I was come home did make a quarrell between my wife and I, because she had appointed a wash to-morrow. But, however, we were friends again quickly. All our discourse to-night was Mr. Tryan's late being robbed; and that Collonell Turner (a mad, swearing, confident fellow, well known by all, and by me), one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it; of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th. To White Hall and there with the rest of our company to the Duke and did our business and thence to the Tennis Court till noon, and there saw several great matches played and so by invitation to St. James's; where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Barkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner,<sup>2</sup> Sir Ellis Layton,<sup>3</sup> and one Mr. Sey-

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<sup>1</sup> He was buried in the church of Tatterset, St. Andrew, Norfolk. — *M. I.*

<sup>2</sup> Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Solicitor-general, and Lord Chief Baron. Ob. 1675.

<sup>3</sup> D. C. L., brother to R. Leighton, Bishop of Dumblane (better known as Archbishop of Glasgow), and had been Secretary to the Duke of York. Their father, a Puritan, Alexander Leighton, for his two books, "Zion's Plea" and "The Looking Glass of the Holy War," was ordered by the Star Chamber to have his nose slit and his ears cut, and to be whipped from Newgate to Aldgate, and then to Tyburn. (M. B.) *Elisha* (the real name of

mour, a fine gentleman ; where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. Thence after dinner to White Hall, and thence by coach with Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower ; he set me down at Cornhill, but, Lord ! the simple discourse that all the way we had, he magnifying his great undertakings and cares that have been upon him for these last two years, and how he commanded the city to the content of all parties, when the loggerhead knows nothing almost that is sense. Thence to the Coffee-house whither comes Sir W. Petty and Captain Grant, and we fell in talke (besides a young gentleman, I suppose a merchant, his name Mr. Hill, that has travelled and I perceive is a master in most sorts of musique and other things) of musique ; the universal character ; art of memory ; Granger's counterfeiting of hands and other most excellent discourses to my great content, having not been in so good company a great while, and had I time I should covet the acquaintance of that Mr. Hill. This morning I stood by the King arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion ; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers ; she replying still with these words, "O King !" and thou'd him all along. The

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the knight) was apparently euphonized into Ellis by the courtier son. Pepys speaks of him as Secretary of the Prize Office, and adds, that he had been a mad freaking fellow. See 25th Jan. 1664-5.

general talke of the towne still is of Collonell Turner, about the robbery ; who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell to-night, how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the Judges at York ; and, among others, Captain Oates,<sup>1</sup> against whom it was proved that he drew his sword at his going out, and flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

12th. To the office and so home and anon comes my uncle Wight and my aunt, with their cozens Mary and Robert, and by chance my uncle Thomas Pepys. We had a good dinner, the chief dish a swan roasted, and that excellent meate. After dinner to cards, where till evening and lost half-a-crowne. So to my office till late, and then home to bed, after being at prayers, which is the first time after my late vowe to say prayers in my family twice in every week.

13th. Abroad to many several places about business, and through Bedlam (calling by the way at an old bookseller's and there fell into looking over Spanish books and pitched upon some, till I thought of my oathe when I was going to agree for them, and so with much ado got myself out of the shop glad at my heart and so away) to the African house to look upon their book of contracts. So to the Coffee-house, where extraordinary good discourse of Dr. Whistler's upon my question concerning the keeping of masts, he argu-

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<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, Nov. 9, 1663.

ing against keeping them dry, by showing the nature of corruption in bodies and the several ways thereof.

15th. My wife tells me that my uncle Wight hath been with her, and played at cards with her and is mighty inquisitive to know whether she is with child or no, which makes me wonder what his meaning is, and after all my thoughts, I cannot think, unless it be in order to the making his will, and I would to God my wife had told him that she was.

16th. At noon I to the 'Change about some pieces of eight for Sir J. Lawson. There I hear that Collonell Turner is found guilty of felony at the Sessions in Mr. Tryan's business, which will save his life. So home, where Browne of the Minerys brought me an Instrument made of a Spyral line very pretty for all questions in Arithmetique almost, but it must be some use that must make me perfect in it.

17th (Lord's day). To the French church and there heard a good sermon, the first time my wife and I were there ever together. We sat by three sisters, all pretty women. It was pleasant to hear the reader give notice to them, that the children to be catechized next Sunday were them of Houndsditch and Blanche Chapiton.<sup>1</sup> My wife and I to see Sir W. Pen and there supped with him much against my stomach,

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<sup>1</sup> Blanch Apleton, according to the "Handbook of London," seems to have been a manor belonging, in the reign of Richard II., to Sir Thomas Roos, of Hamelake. It is enumerated (9th Hen. V.) in "The Partition of the inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex," under the head of "London-Blaunch-Appulton." Hall, in his "Chronicle" (edit. 1548) writes it, *Blanchechapelon*.

for the dishes were so deadly foule that I could not endure to look upon them.

18th. Abroad to White Hall, where the Court all in mourning for the Duchesse of Savoy. By coach to the 'Change, after having been at the Coffee-house, where I hear Turner<sup>1</sup> is found guilty of felony and burglary; and strange stories of his confidence at the barr, but yet great indiscretion in his argueing. All desirous of his being hanged.

19th. My eyes began to fail me, and to be in pain which I never felt till now-a-days, which I impute to sitting up late writing and reading by candle-light.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and I walked with him to the Tennis Court, and there left him, seeing the King play. My Lord Sandwich did seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in 250*l.* per annum rent. Thence by water to my brother's, whom I find not well in bed, sicke, they think, of a consumption. So to Mr. Commander's in Warwicke Lane, to speak to him about drawing up my will. So to the 'Change and walked home, thence with Sir Richard Ford,<sup>2</sup> who told me that Turner is to be hanged to-morrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him newes of his death, he begun to be sober and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and

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<sup>1</sup> Vide State Trials.

<sup>2</sup> He was one of the sheriffs.

partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by by the King, but that he doat upon Mrs. Stewart only; and that to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queene; that he values not who sees him or stands by him while he dallies with her openly; and then privately in her chamber below, where the very sentrys observe his going in and out; and that so commonly, that the Duke or any of the nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they will ordinarily say, "Is the King above, or below?" meaning with Mrs. Stewart: that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hambletons,<sup>1</sup> and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, have their snaps at her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queene's lodgings, that he might be the least observed; that the Duke of Monmouth the King do still doat on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchesse of Savoy; so that he mourns as a Prince of the Blood, while the Duke of

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<sup>1</sup> George Hamilton, and the Count Antoine Hamilton, author of the "Mémoires de Grammont."



York do no more, and all the nobles of the land not so much ; which gives great offence, and he sees the Duke of York do consider. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble Prince ; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so ! but I should be more glad that the King himself would look after business, which it seems he do not in the least. By and by came by Mr. Coventry and then my Lord Sandwich came upon me, to speak with whom my business of coming again to-night to this ende of the towne chiefly was, in order to the seeing in what manner he received me, in order to my inviting him to dinner, but as well in the morning as now he treated me, though with respect, yet as a stranger, without any of the intimacy or friendship which he used to do, but do look upon me as a remembrancer of his former vanity, and an espy upon his present practices. I am resolved to forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner till I see him in a better posture, and by grave and humble, though high deportment, to make him think I do not want him, and that will make him the readier to admit me to his friendship again, I believe the soonest of anything but downright impudence, and thrusting myself, as others do, upon him, which yet I cannot do, nor will not endeavour. Home, troubled in mind for these passages with my Lord, but am resolved to

better my case in my business to make my stand upon my owne legs the better and to lay up as well as to get money. To bed, after I had by candlelight shaved myself and cut off all my beard clear, which will make my worke a great deal the less in shaving.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the office, and at noon to the 'Change ; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done ; and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an houre before the execution was done ; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers one after another, in hopes of a reprieve ; but none came, and at last was flung off the ladder in his cloake. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end : I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 or 14,000 people in the street. Thence to the Coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart,<sup>1</sup> which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his family, but his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect

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<sup>1</sup> Turner's speech at his execution has been printed. London, 8vo. 1663.



no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. Thence to my aunt Wight's to fetch my wife home, where Dr. Burnett<sup>1</sup> did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one Jewell returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr. Tryan, the true owner, but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22nd. Up, and it being a brave morning, with a gally to Woolwich, and there both at the Ropeyarde and the other yarde did much business, and thence to Greenwich to see Mr. Pett and others value the carved work of the "Henrietta" (God knows in an ill manner for the King), and so to Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it, for I am of the opinion that he would never have discoursed so much of it, if it were not better than other vessels, and so I believe that he was abused the other day, as he is now, by tongues that I am sure speak before they know anything good or bad of her. I am sorry to find his ingenuity discouraged so. So home, reading all the way a good book, and after dinner a lesson on the globes to my wife, and so to my office till 10 or 11 o'clock at night.

23rd. After we had dined came Mr. Mallard, and I brought down my vyall, which he played on, the first maister that ever touched her yet, and she proves very well and will be, I think, an admirable instrument.

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<sup>1</sup> The physician.

He played some very fine things of his owne, but I was afeard to enter too far in their commendation for fear he should offer to copy them for me out and so I be forced to give or lend him something.

24th (Lord's day). Being desirous to perform my vowes that I lately made, among others, to be performed this month, I did go to my office, and there fell on entering, out of a bye-book, part of my second journall-book, which hath lain these two years and more unentered. This evening also I drew up a rough draught of my last will to my mind.

25th. At Warwicke Lane and there called upon Mr. Commander and did give him my last will and testament to write over in form. To the office upon a particular meeting of the East India Company, where I think I did the King good service against the Company in the business of their sending our ships home empty from the Indies contrary to their contract.

26th. To the office. At noon to the 'Change, after being at the Coffee-house where I sat by Tom Killigrew who told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid 40*l.* for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done; and the fire at last quenched without doing much wrong.

27th. At the Coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue<sup>1</sup> and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is,

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<sup>1</sup> A distinguished naval officer before and after the Restoration; but he never went to sea subsequently to the action in 1666, when he was taken prisoner.

methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and, among other things (saying, that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world — “*Religio Medici*,”<sup>1</sup> “*Osborne’s Advice to a Son*,”<sup>2</sup> and “*Hudibras*”), did say that in these — in the two first principally — the wit lies, and confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like ; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne’s arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight ; at least, so far, but that they might be weakened, and better found in their rooms to confirm what is there said. He shewed finely whence it happens that good writers are not admired by the present age ; because there are but few in any age that do mind any thing that is abstruse and curious ; and so longer before any body do put the true praise, and set it on foot in

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<sup>1</sup> By Sir Thomas Browne. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Francis Osborne, an English writer of considerable abilities and popularity, was the author of “*Advice to a Son*,” in two parts, Oxford, 1656-8, 8vo. He died in 1659. He is the same person mentioned as “*Father Osborne*,” Oct. 19, 1661.

The book was very popular, and was therefore inveighed against by the Puritans of the time. (M. B.)

the world, the generality of mankind pleasing themselves in the easy delights of the world, as eating, drinking, dancing, hunting, fencing, which we see the meanest men do the best, those that profess it. A gentleman never dances so well as the dancing master, and an ordinary fiddler makes better musique for a shilling than a gentleman will do after spending forty, and so in all the delights of the world almost. Home, taking Commissioner Pett with me. He was mighty serious with me in discourse about the consequence of Sir W. Petty's boat, as the most dangerous thing in the world, if it should be practised by endangering our losse of the command of the seas and our trade, while the Turkes and others shall get the use of them, which, without doubt, by bearing more sayle will go faster than any other ships, and, not being of burden, our merchants cannot have the use of them and so will be at the mercy of their enemies. So that I perceive he is afeard that the honour of his trade will down, though (which is a truth) he pretends this consideration to hinder the growth of this invention. He being gone my wife and I took coach and to Covent Garden, to buy a maske at the French House, Madame Charett's,<sup>1</sup> for my wife ; in the way observing the streete full of coaches at the new play, "The Indian Queene ;"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Mary Cherrett, called also Madame Cherrett, lived in the Piazza. (Rate Books of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.) Mr. George Cherret, milliner, and Susan his wife were living in the Piazza in 1689. (*Ib.*)

<sup>2</sup> "The Indian Queen," a tragedy in heroic verse, by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

which for show, they say, exceeds Henry the Eighth. Called to see my brother Tom, but not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

29th. At noon, by appointment, comes Mr. Hartlibb and his wife, and after shewing them my house and drinking they set out by water, my wife and I with them down to Wapping on board the "Crowne," a merchantman. Here was Vice-Admiral Goodson, whom the more I know the more I value for a serious man and staunch. Here was other sorry company and the discourse poor, so that we had no pleasure there at all, but only to see and bless God to find the difference that is now between our condition and that heretofore. After dinner I broke up and with my wife home and thence to the Fleece in Cornhill, by appointment, to meet my Lord Marlborough, a serious and worthy gentleman, who, after doing our business, about the company, began to talk of the state of the Dutch in India, which is like to be in a little time without any controll; for we are lost there, and the Portuguese as bad. Thence to the Coffee-house where good discourse, specially of Lt.-Coll. Baron touching the manners of the Turkes' Government, among whom he lived long. So to my uncle Wight's, where late playing at cards, and so home.

30th. Up, and a sorry sermon of a young fellow I knew at Cambridge; but the day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening Mr. Commander came and we made perfect and signed and sealed my

last will and testament, which is so to my mind and I hope to the liking of God Almighty, that I take great joy in myself that it is done, and by that means my mind in a good condition of quiett. This evening, being in a humour of making all things even and clear in the world, I tore some old papers ; among others, a romance which (under the title of " Love a Cheate ") I begun ten years ago at Cambridge ; and reading it over to-night I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st (Lord's day). Up, and in my chamber all day long settling all my Brampton accounts to this day in very good order, I having obliged myself by oathe to do that and some other things within this month, and did also perfectly prepare a state of my estate and annexed it to my last will and testament, which now is perfect, and, lastly, I did make up my monthly accounts, and find that I have gained above 50%. this month clear, and so am worth 858%. clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of, and also read over my usual vowes, as I do every Lord's day, but with greater seriousness than ordinary. So to supper and to bed with my mind in mighty great ease and content, but my head very full of thoughts and business to dispatch this next month also, and among others to provide for answering to the Exchequer for my uncle's being Generall-Receiver in the year 1647, which I am at present wholly unable to do, but I must find time to look over all his papers.

February 1st. Up, and being ready I found Mr. Strutt the purser below with 12 bottles of sacke. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through; one of them of the King's Chappell, one Cave, and the other a retayner of my Lord Generall Middleton's.<sup>1</sup> Thence to White Hall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King came and stayed an houre or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat;<sup>2</sup> and at Gresham College in general; at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take oddes against the King's best boates; but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College<sup>3</sup> he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat. Thence to Westminster, and there met with diverse people, it being terme time. Here I met with Mr. Pierce, who tells me of several passages at Court, among others how the King, coming the other day to his Theatre to see "The Indian Queene" (which he commends for a very fine thing),

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<sup>1</sup> John Middleton, Earl of Middleton, General of the Forces in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> This vessel was lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storm. It was flat-bottomed, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of two distinct keels, cramped together with huge timbers, &c., so as that a violent stream ran between. See Evelyn's "Diary," 22nd March, 1674-75. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> The Royal Society.



my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came ; and leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York ; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as every body else, out of countenance ; and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. Thence with Alderman Maynell by his coach to the 'Change, and so home to dinner, and took my wife out immediately to the King's Theatre, it being a new month, and once a month I may go, and there saw "The Indian Queene" acted ; which indeed is a most pleasant show, and beyond my expectation ; the play good, but spoiled with the ryme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall<sup>1</sup> did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life ; but her voice not so sweet as Ianthe's ;<sup>2</sup> but, however, we came home mightily contented. Here we met Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Marshall, a celebrated actress, and her youngest sister Becke, so frequently mentioned in the Diary, were, I believe, the daughters of a Presbyterian minister ; but very little seems to be known about their history. One of them is erroneously stated, in the notes to the "*Mémoires de Grammont*," and Davies' "*Dramatic Miscellanies*," to have become Lord Oxford's mistress ; for Mr. Pepys uniformly calls the Marshalls by their proper name, and only speaks of the other lady as "the first or old Roxalana, who had quitted the stage." *Vide Feb. 18, 1661-62, and Dec. 27, in the same year.*

<sup>2</sup> Malone says, in his "*History of the English Stage*," that Mrs. Mary Saunderson performed Ianthe in Davenant's play of the "*Siege of Rhodes*," at the first opening of his theatre, April, 1662. She married Betterton the following year, and lived till 1712, having filled almost all the female characters in Shakespeare with great success. It is probable, therefore, that she



Pickering ; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristoll against the Parliament ; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cooper open high against the Chancellor ; which I am sorry for. In my way home I 'light and to the Coffee-house, where I heard Lt.-Coll. Baron tell very good stories of his travels over the high hills in Asia above the clouds, how clear the heaven is above them, how thicke like a mist the way is through the cloud that wets like a sponge one's clothes, the ground above the clouds all dry and parched, nothing in the world growing, it being only a dry earth, yet not so hot above as below the clouds. The stars at night most delicate bright and a fine clear blue sky, but cannot see the earth at any time through the clouds, but the clouds look like a world below you. This day W. Bowyer told me that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night ; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand and cloake over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning, that he was found drowned.

2nd. To the 'Change with Mr. Coventry, thence to the Coffee-house with Captain Cocke, who discoursed well of the good effects in some kind of a Dutch warr and conquest (which I did not consider before, but

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was the person alluded to here, and frequently mentioned afterwards, without any more particular designation.

the contrary) that is, that the trade of the world is too little for us two, therefore one must down: 2ndly, that though our merchants will not be the better husbands by all this, yet our wool will bear a better price by vaunting of our cloths, and by that our tenants will be better able to pay rents, and our lands will be more worth, and all our owne manufactures, which now the Dutch outvie us in; that he thinks the Dutch are not in so good a condition as heretofore because of want of men always, and now from the warrs against the Turke more than ever. Then to the 'Change again, and thence off to the Sun Taverne with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a payre of gloves for my wife wrapt up in paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on in discourse. When I came home, Lord! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were; and, by and by, she being gone, it proves a payre of white gloves for her and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart, that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner for joy to think how God do bless us every day more and more, and more yet I hope he will upon the increase of my duty and endeavours. I was at great losse what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, which I could hardly forbear, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

3rd. To the Mitre Taverne by appointment, and

there met by chance with W. Howe come to buy wine for my Lord against his going down to Hinchingbroke, and I private with him a great while discoursing of my Lord's strangeness to me ; but he answers that I have no reason to think any such thing, but that my Lord is only in general a more reserved man than he was before. So home, where my wife is full of sad stories of her good-natured father and roguish brother, who is going for Holland and his wife, to be a soldier. This night late coming in my coach, coming up Ludgate Hill, I saw two gallants and their footmen taking a pretty wench, which I have much eyed, lately set up shop upon the hill, a seller of riband and gloves. They seemed to drag her by some force, but the wench went. In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great Coffee-house<sup>1</sup> there, where I never was before ; where Dryden the poet (I knew at Cambridge), and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

4th. By coach to Paul's School, where I heard

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<sup>1</sup> "We turn out of Bow Street into Russell Street. At the north-east corner of the two streets was the famous Will's coffee-house, formerly the Rose, where Dryden presided over the literature of the town; and on the other side of the way, on a part of the site of the present Hummums, stood Button's coffee-house, no less celebrated as the resort of the wits and poets of the time of Queen Anne." — *The Town*, by Leigh Hunt. (M. B.)

some good speeches of the boys that were to be elected this year. Thence by and by with Mr. Pullen and Barnes (a great Non-Conformist) with several others of my old acquaintance to the Nag's Head Taverne, and there did give them a bottle of sacke, and away again and I to the School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbucke,<sup>1</sup> Barker, Harrington, and others; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me, that in Dr. Colett's<sup>2</sup> will he says that he would have a Master found for the School that hath good skill in Latin, and (if it could be) one that had some knowledge of the Greeke; so little was Greeke known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins<sup>3</sup> and one Mr. Smallwood, Posers.

5th. Up, and down by water, a brave morning, to Woolwich, and there spent an houre or two to good purpose, and so walked to Greenwich and thence to Deptford, and so by water home, all the way going and coming reading "*Faber Fortunæ*,"<sup>4</sup> which I can never read too often. At home to look over some Brampton papers, and my uncle's accounts as Gen-

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Alderman Clutterbuck, one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Middlesex. There was a Sir Thomas Clutterbuck of London, *circa* 1670.

<sup>2</sup> Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the School.

<sup>3</sup> John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College, and afterwards Dean of Ripon, consecrated Bishop of Chester 1668; ob. 1672. He was a learned theologian, and well versed in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> By Lord Bacon.

erall-Receiver of the County for 1647 of our monthly assessment, which, contrary to my expectation, I found in such good order that I did not expect, nor could have thought, and having seen discharges for every farthing of money he received, I went to bed late with great quiett.

6th. To the 'Change, where I met Mr. Coventry, the first time I ever saw him there, and after a little talke with him and other merchants, home, whither came one Father Fogourdy, an Irish priest, of my wife's and her mother's acquaintance in France, a sober, discreet person, but one that I would not have converse with my wife for fear of meddling with her religion, but I like the man well. He confirms to me the newes that for certain there is peace between the Pope and King of France.

7th (Lord's day). Up and to church, and thence home, and with great mirth read Sir W. Davenant's two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to another, and so to prayers and to bed.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me largely how the King still do doat upon his women, even beyond all shame ; and that the good Queene will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart ; and that some of the best parts of the Queene's joynture are, contrary to faith, and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his Council, bestowed

or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stewart, and others of that crew: that the King do doat infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed him. God knows what will be the end of it! Thence to Guildhall, thinking to have heard some pleading, but there were no Courts, and so to Cade's, the stationer, and there did look upon some pictures which he promised to give me the buying of, but I found he would have played the Jacke with me, but at last he did proffer me what I expected, and I have laid aside 10*l.* or 12*l.* worth, and will think of it, but I am loth to lay out so much money upon them.

9th. Great talke of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffick there to all ships but their owne, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the "Greyhound" and another, very rich, coming from the Streights, for fear of the Turkes. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France; so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies. Thence home, by and by comes Mr. Moore, with whom much good discourse of my Lord, and among other things told me that my Lord is mightily altered, that is, grown very high and stately, and do not admit of any to come into his chamber to him, as heretofore, and that I must not think much of his strangeness to me, for it was the same he do to every body. I discoursed with him



about my money that my Lord hath, and the 1,000*l.* that I stand bound with him in, to my cozen Thomas Pepys, in both which I will get myself at liberty as soon as I can ; for I do not like his being angry and in debt both together to me ; and besides, I do not perceive he looks after paying his debts, but runs farther and farther in. He being gone, my wife and I did walk an houre or two above in our chamber, seriously talking of businesses. I told her my Lord owed me 700*l.*, and shewed her the bond, and how I intended to carry myself to my Lord. She and I did cast about how to get Captain Grove for my sister, in which we are mighty earnest at present, and I think it would be a good match.

10th. Up, and by coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house, but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inne Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembered him to his cozen. Thence to the Temple, where my cozen Roger Pepys did show me a letter my Father wrote to him last Terme to shew me, proposing such things about Sturtlow and a portion for Pall, and I know not what, that vexes me to see him plotting how to put me to trouble and charge, and not thinking to pay our debts and legacys, but I will write him a letter will persuade him to be wiser. My wife abroad, after her coming home from being with my aunt Wight to buy Lent provisions. Homewards, calling a little at the Coffee-house, where a little merry discourse, and

so home, where I found my wife and her brother. He is going this next tide with his wife into Holland to seek his fortune. I did give my wife 10s. to give him, and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied light-coloured cloth coat, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best pettycoat that she had when I married her. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excesse, but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my wastecoat unbuttoned one morning.

11th. To the office, and did much business, and some much to my content by prevailing against Sir W. Batten for the King's profit. At noon home to dinner, my wife and I hand to fist to a very fine pig. This noon Mr. Falconer came and visited my wife, and brought her a present, a silver state-cup and cover, value about 3*l.* or 4*l.*, for the courtesy I did him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present, because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Up, and did find below Mr. Creed's boy with a letter from his master. So I fell to reading it and it is by way of stating the case between S. Pepys and J. Creed most excellently writ, reproaching me yet flattering me, and in a word in as good a manner as I think the world could have wrote. At noon by his appointment to the Coffee-house, where with great seriousness and strangeness on both sides he said his part and I mine, he sometimes owning my favour and



assistance, yet endeavouring to lessen it; I to alledge the contrary, and plainly to tell him that from the beginning I never had it in my mind to do him all that kindnesse for nothing. Well, says he, I know you will expect since there must be some condescension, that it do become me to begin it and therefore, says he, I do propose (just like the interstice between the death of the old and the coming in of the present king, all the time is swallowed up as if it had never been) so our breach of friendship may be as if it had never been and that he would reckon himself obliged to show the same ingenuous acknowledgment of my love and service to him as at the beginning he ought to have done, before by my first letter I did (as he well observed) put him out of a capacity of doing it, without seeming to do it servilely, and so it rests. Thence called at Alderman Backewell's and there changed Mr. Falconer's state-cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion 5*l.* 16*s.*, and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17*s.*, both 6*l.* 13*s.*; for which we had the tankard, which came to 6*l.* 10*s.*, at 5*s.* 7*d.* per oz., and 3*s.* in money.

13th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House and there with Sir W. Rider by agreement we looked over part of my Lord Peterborough's accounts. Anon to dinner to a table which Mr. Coventry keeps here, out of his 300*l.* per annum as one of the Assistants to the Royall Company, a very pretty dinner, and good company, and excellent discourse. So took coach

and to Reeves, the perspective glass maker, and there did indeed see very excellent microscopes, which did discover a louse or mite or sand most perfectly and largely. Being sated with that we went away and home with my wife and saw her day's work in ripping the silke standard, which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed, or for twenty uses, to our great content. Wrote fair my angry letter to my father upon that that he wrote to my cozen Roger Pepys, which I hope will make him the more carefull to trust to my advice for the time to come without so many needless complaints and jealousys which are troublesome to me because without reason.

14th (Lord's day). Up and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr. Mills, upon a text to introduce catechizing in his parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

15th. To White Hall, to the Duke ; where he first put on a periwigg to-day ; but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwigg. Great newes of the arrivall of two rich ships, the Greyhound and another, which they were mightily afeard of, and great insurance given, and so home to dinner, and after an houre with my wife at her globes, I to the office where very busy till 11 at night and so home to supper and to bed. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlin<sup>1</sup> came to the office to me, and showed me several letters from the

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<sup>1</sup> Son of William Chamberlayne, an English Judge, and created a Baronet 1642.

East Indys, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only Factory there of Surat,<sup>1</sup> beating several men, and hanging the English Standard St. George under the Dutch flagg in scorn; saying, that whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list, and will be masters of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves Sovereigne of all the South Seas; which certainly our King cannot endure, if the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt and yet do hope they will not yet, till we are more ready for it.

16th. At noon to the 'Change a little and thence brought Mr. Barrow to dinner with me, where I had a haunch of venison roasted and so had a pretty dinner. He being gone I to the office where very busy till night. To my Vyall a little, which I have not done some months, I think, before.

17th. With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill looked a place, among all the brothels, that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither. Thence I to White Hall and there walked up and down talking with Mr. Pierce, who tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong indeed to the Queene, worth 20,000*l.* to him; and how people do talk of it. Home, and dined, where I found an excellent mastiffe, his name Towser,

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<sup>1</sup> Sir George Oxenden was then the chief factor of the East India Company. In 1686 the English removed to Bombay. Surat is still in our possession.

sent me by a chyrurgeon. After dinner I took my wife again by coach (leaving Creed by the way going to Gresham College, of which he is now become one of the virtuosos) and to White Hall, where I delivered a paper about Tangier to my Lord Duke of Albemarle in the council chamber. At my office till 3 in the morning, having spent much time this evening in discourse with Mr. Cutler who tells me how the Dutch deal with us abroad and do not value us any where. He being gone Sir W. Rider came and staid with me about understanding the measuring of Mr. Wood's masts, and out of an impatience to breake up with my head full of confused confounded notions, but nothing brought to a clear comprehension I was resolved to sit up and did till now it is ready to strike 4 o'clock, all alone, cold, and my candle not enough left to light me to my owne house, and so, with my business however brought to some good understanding, I went home to bed weary, sleepy, cold, and my head akeing.

19th. Mr. Cutler came, and walked and talked with me a great while ; and then to the 'Change together ; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving ; as also his owne fortune, and how credit grew upon him ; that when he was not really worth 1,100*l.*, he had credit for 100,000*l.* : of Sir W. Rider how he rose ; and others. By and by joyned with us Sir John Bankes ;<sup>1</sup> who told us several

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<sup>1</sup> An opulent merchant, residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

passages of the East India Company; and how in his very case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico 64,000*l.* from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indys, Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife; and taking a coach, went to visit my Ladys Jemimah and Paulina Montagu, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering,<sup>1</sup> whom we find at their father's new house in Lincolne's Inn Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us well enough; but I did not endeavour to carry myself over familiarly with them; and so after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Aberguenny<sup>2</sup> and other ladies, we back again by coach. To Mr. Jaggard's, where a very good supper and great store of plate and above all after supper Mrs. Jaggard did at my entreaty play on the Vvall, but so well as I did not think any woman in England could and but few Maisters, I must confess it did mightily surprise me. My aunt tells me they are counted very rich people, worth at least 10 or 12,000*l.*, and their country house all the yeare long and all things liveable, which mightily surprises me to think for how poore a man I took him when I did him the courtesy at our office.

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich's niece.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mary, daughter of Thomas Gifford, Esq., of Dunton Walet, Essex, wife to George, ninth Lord Abergavenny.

20th. At noon to the 'Change with Mr. Coventry and after dinner by a gally down to Woolwich and so walked to Greenwich, it being a very fine evening and brought night home with me by water.

21st. Spent all the morning drawing up a letter to Mr. Coventry about preserving of masts. To my uncle's to supper. So home to prayers and to bed. My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning; and our little girle Susan is a most admirable slut and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others and deserves wages better.

22nd. To White Hall ward and so to a picture-sellers by the Half Moone and there looked over the maps of several cities and did buy two books of cities stitched together cost me 9s. 6d., and when I came home thought of my vowe, and paid 5s. into my poore box for it, hoping in God that I shall forfeit no more in that kind. To the Exchange and there found my wife at pretty Doll's, and thence by coach set her to go with my aunt to market against Lent and I to the 'Change, my chief business being to enquire about the manner of other countries keeping of their masts wet or dry and got good advice about it. This evening came Mr. Alsopp the King's brewer, with whom I spent an houre talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the King led away by half-a-dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding, (to whom he hath, it seems, given



12,000*l.* per annum in the best part of the King's estate) ; and that that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King. Progers<sup>1</sup> is another, and Sir H. Bennett. He loves not the Quèene at all, but is rather sullen to her ; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that every body admires it ; and he says that the Duke hath said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother : though Alsopp says, it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the king was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says, that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children ; and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms : that he is not likely to have his tables<sup>2</sup> up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall (which there is a ball to be in to-night before the King) be guarded, as the Queene-Mother's is, by his Horse Guards ; whereas heretofore they were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward, and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away ; and what is worst of all, that he will alter

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Progers, Esq., the King's Valet-de-Chambre, and the confidant of his amours. Ob. 1713, aged 96.

See Grammont's Memoirs. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> At which the King dined in public.



the present militia, and bring all to a flying army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's<sup>1</sup> enemy, and one that scorns the Chancellor even to open affronts before the King, hath got the whole power of Scotland into his hand ; whereas the other day he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate, and honour, and life, voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim,<sup>2</sup> in Ireland ; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's, and his commissions ; but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queene-Mother's (by my Lord Germin,<sup>3</sup> I suppose,) in marriage, be it to whom the Queene pleases ; which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lenox's was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House, to Harry Germin ; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them ! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth in such a high stile, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother<sup>4</sup> hath a place

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<sup>1</sup> See note, Feb. 1, 1663-4.

<sup>2</sup> Randall, second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim. Ob. 1673.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl of St. Albans.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Justice Waters, said to be "of the Temple," by Thurloe.

at Court; and being a Welchman (I think he told me), will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at the Council, commit my Lord Digby's<sup>1</sup> chaplin, and steward, and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church, and receive the Sacrament<sup>2</sup> as a Protestant, (which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law); the King, I say, did commit them all to the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependance upon him, and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say, that he would soon see whether he was King, or Digby. That the Queene-Mother hath outrun herself in her expences, and is now come to pay very ill, or run in debt; the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers he can assure me there is no such thing, nor any body that should look after such a thing; and that there is not now above 80,000*l.* of the Dunkirke money left in stock. That Oliver in the year when he spent 1,400,000*l.* in the Navy, did spend in the whole ex-

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<sup>1</sup> George, Lord Digby, second Earl of Bristol, who had been Secretary of State in 1643; but by changing his religion while abroad, at the instigation of Don John of Austria, incapacitated himself from being restored to that office; and in consequence of the disappointment, which he imputed to the interference of the Lord Chancellor, conspired and effected his ruin. He was installed K. G. in 1661, and died 1676.

<sup>2</sup> See Monsieur de Lionne's letter in the Appendix, Jan. 25, 1663-4.

pence of the kingdom 2,600,000*l*. That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war ; but both he and I did concur, that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for ; unless by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Ambassador<sup>1</sup> had, it is true, an audience ; but in the most dishonourable way that could be ; for the Princes of the Blood (though invited by our Ambassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever Ambassador committed these 400 years) were not there ; and so were not said to give place to our King's Ambassador. And that our King did openly say, the other day in the Privy Chamber, that he would not be hectored out of his right and pre-eminencys by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French (as the newes-book says), upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talke which these people about our King, that I named before, have, is to tell him how neither privilege of Parliament nor City is any thing ; but that his will is all, and ought to be so : and their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the eares of the very gentlemen of the back-stairs (I think he called them) to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing ; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Digby did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to

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<sup>1</sup> Denzil Hollis: see 14th Dec., 1663.

the point of his knowing before-hand that the Queene was not capable of bearing children ; and that something was given her to make her so. But as private as they were, when they came thither they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Digby endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his there ; but I hope the contrary. That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon<sup>1</sup> to somebody for 20,000*l.*, and this to have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldome is fetched from thence ; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seale for the payment of this 20,000*l.* to my Lord Chancellor, to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholiques. And from altogether, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruine can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23rd. This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world ; and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in every thing, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world, than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it !

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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon Park, near Salisbury.

24th (Ash-Wednesday). To the Queene's chappell, where I staid and saw their masse, till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chappell, where Monsieur d'Espagne<sup>1</sup> used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crouded than the Queene's chappell at St. James's; which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which in every respect will be mighty magnificent and costly. I staid a great while talking with a man in the garden that was sawing of a piece of marble, and did give him 6*l.* to drink. He told me much of the nature and labour of the worke, how he could not saw above 4 inches of the stone in a day, and of a greater not above one or two, and after it is sawed, then it is rubbed with coarse and then with finer and finer sand till they come to putty, and so polish it as smooth as glass. Their saws have no teeth, but it is the sand only which the saw rubs up and down that do the thing. Thence by water to the Coffee-house, and there sat with Alderman Barker talking of hempe and the trade, and so home and dined with my wife, and then to the office till the evening, and then walked a while merrily with my wife in the garden, and so she gone, I to work again till late.

25th. To my Lord's, and saw the young ladies, and

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<sup>1</sup> Probably author of a small volume called "*Shibboleth, ou, Reformation de quelques Passages de la Bible, par Jean d'Espagne; Ministre du St. Evangile,*" in the Pepysian Collection, printed 1653, and dedicated to Cromwell.

talked a little with them, and thence to White Hall. Resolved of going to meet my Lord to-morrow, having got a horse of Mr. Coventry to-day.

26th. Up, and after dressing myself handsomely for riding, I out, and by water to Westminster, to Mr. Creed's chamber, and after drinking some chocolate, and playing on the vyall, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creed's new vyall, which proves, methinks, much worse than mine, we set out from an inne hard by, whither Mr. Coventry's horse was carried, and round about the bush through bad ways to Highgate. Good discourse in the way had between us, and it being a most admirable pleasant day, we, upon consultation, had stopped at the Cocke, a mile on this side Barnett, being unwilling to put ourselves to the charge or doubtful acceptance of any provision against my Lord's coming by, and there got something and dined, setting a boy to look towards Barnett Hill, against their coming; and after two or three false alarms, they come, and we met the coach very gracefully, and I had a kind receipt from both Lord and Lady as I could wish, and some kind discourse, and then rode by the coach a good way, and so fell to discoursing with several of the people, there being a dozen attending the coach, and another for the mayds and parson. Among others talking with W. Howe, he told me how my Lord in his hearing the other day did largely tell my Lord Peterborough and Povy how and when he discarded Creed, and took me to him, and that since the Duke of York has several times thanked

him for me, which did not a little please me. But when we came to my Lord's house, I went in ; and whether it was my Lord's neglect, or general indifference, I know not, but he made me no kind of compliment there ; and, methinks, the young ladies look somewhat highly upon me. So I went away without bidding adieu to anybody, being desirous not to be thought too servile.

27th. At noon with Mr. Coventry to the African house, and to my Lord Peterborough's business again, and then to dinner, where, before dinner, we had the best oysters I have seen this year. Great, good company at dinner, among others Sir Martin Noell, who told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether callicos be linnen or no ; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so : they say it is made of cotton woole, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hempe. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict. Thence home, and had a very pleasing and condescending answer from my poor father in answer to my angry discontentful letter to him the other day, which pleases me mightily.

28th (Lord's day). Up and walked to Paul's ; and by chance it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the Students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of Students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the Church



mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon upon these words: "But the wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the Quire, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London,<sup>1</sup> who sat there in a pew, made a' purpose for him by the pulpitt, do give the last blessing to the congregation; which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing, methought. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him, his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high-carriaged but comely big woman; <sup>2</sup> I was mightily pleased with her. No discourse at table to any purpose, only after dinner my Lady would needs see a boy which was represented to her to be an innocent country boy brought up to towne a day or two ago, and left here to the wide world, and he losing his way fell into the Tower, which my Lady believes, and takes pity on him, and will keep him; but though a little boy and but young, yet he tells his tale so readily and answers all questions so wittily, that for certain he is an arch rogue, and bred in this towne; but my Lady will not believe it, but ordered victuals to be given him, and I think will keep him as a footboy for their eldest son. After dinner to

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<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Henchman, translated from Salisbury, September, 1663. Ob. 1675.

<sup>2</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore, of Barnes, in Surrey.

chappell in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keyes carried before us, and the Warders and Gentleman-porter going before us. And I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew, in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there. Home, and by and by to Sir W. Pen, and staid a while talking with him about Sir J. Minnes his folly in his office, of which I am sicke and weary to speak of it, and how the King is abused in it, though Pen, I know, offers the discourse only like a rogue to get it out of me, but I am very free to tell my mind to him, in that case being not unwilling he should tell him again or any body else. Thence home, and walked in the garden by brave moonshine with my wife above two hours, then to supper, and after prayers to bed.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me indeed many excellent collections of the State of the Revenue in former Kings and the late times, and the present. He showed me how the very Assessments between 1643 and 1659, which were taxes (besides Excise, Customes, Sequestrations, Decimations, King and Queene's and Church Lands, or any thing else but just the Assessments), come to above fifteen millions. He showed me a discourse of his concerning the Revenues of this and foreign States. How that of Spayne was great, but divided with his kingdoms, and so came to little. How that of France did, and do much exceed ours before for quantity; and that it is at the will of the Prince to tax what he will upon

his people ; which is not here. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only upon the expence of provisions, by an excise ; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expence of provisions. He showed me every particular sort of payment away of money, since the King's coming in, to this day ; and told me, from one to one, how little he hath received of profit from most of them ; and I believe him truly. That the 1,200,000*l.* which the Parliament with so much ado did first vote to give the King, and since hath been re-examined by several committees of the present Parliament, is yet above 300,000*l.* short of making up really to the King the 1,200,000*l.* as by particulars he showed me. And in my Lord Treasurer's excellent letter to the King upon this subject, he tells the King how it was the spending more than the revenue that did give the first occasion of his father's ruine, and did since to the rebels ; who, he says, just like Henry the Eighth, had great and sudden increase of wealth, but yet, by overspending, both died poor ; and further tells the King how much of this 1,200,000*l.* depends upon the life of the Prince, and so must be renewed by Parliament again to his successor ; which is seldom done without parting with some of the prerogatives of the Crowne ; or if denied and he persists to take it of the people, it gives occasion to a civill war, which may, as it did in the late business of tonnage and poundage prove fatal to the Crowne. He showed me how many ways the Lord Treasurer did

take before he moved the King to farme the Customes in the manner he do, and the reasons that moved him to do it. He showed me a very excellent argument to prove, that our importing lesse than we export, do not impoverish the kingdom, according to the received opinion: which, though it be a paradox, and that I do not remember the argument, yet methought there was a great deale in what he said. And upon the whole I find him a most exact and methodicall man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this; though I cannot easily guess the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury. Thence to White Hall, and before the Duke did our usual business, and then out to the Mewes with Sir W. Pen. At the Mewes Sir W. Pen and Mr. Baxter did shew me several good horses, but Pen, which Sir W. Pen did give the Duke of York, was given away by the Duke the other day to a Frenchman, which Baxter is cruelly vexed at, saying that he was the best horse that he expects a great while to have to do with. Thence homewards, and in my way did stay to look upon a house on fire in an Inneyard in Lumbard Streete. But, Lord! to see how the mercers and merchants who had warehouses there did carry away their cloths and silks. But at last it was quenched, and I home to dinner, and after dinner carried my wife and set her and her two mayds in Fleete Streete to buy things, and I to White Hall.

Thence by water to Salisbury Court, and found my wife, by agreement, at Mrs. Turner's. Got home before our mayds, who by and by came with a great cry and fright that they had like to have been killed by a coach ; but, Lord ! to see how Jane did tell the story like a foole and a dissembling fanatique, like her grandmother, but so like a changeling,<sup>1</sup> would make a man laugh to death almost, and yet be vexed to hear her. By and by to the office to make up my monthly accounts, and to my great content find myself worth eight hundred and ninety and odd pounds, the greatest sum I ever yet knew, and so with a heart at great ease to bed.

March 1st. At noon to the 'Change, and after much business and meeting my uncle Wight, who told me how Mr. Maes had like to have been trapped yesterday, but was forced to run for it ; so with Creed home to dinner, and after a good and pleasant dinner, I took Mr. Creed and my wife and down to Deptford, and there till night discoursing with the officers, and so walked home by moonshine, it being mighty pleasant.

2nd. Up, my eye mightily out of order with the

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<sup>1</sup> The fairies were supposed to steal the most beautiful and witty children, and leave in their places such as were ugly and stupid. These were usually called *changelings*.

"From thence a faery thee unweeting reft,  
There as thou slept in tender swaddling band,  
And her base elfin brood there for thee left:  
Such men do *chaungelings* call, so chaung'd by faeries theft."

SPENSER, *Faery Queen*, i. 65. (M. B.)

Rheum that is fallen down into it. Calling at St. Paul's Churchyarde, there looked upon a pretty burlesque poem, called "Scarronides, or Virgile Travesty;"<sup>1</sup> extraordinary good. After dinner my wife cut my hair short, which is growne pretty long again. This afternoon we had a good present of tongues and bacon from Mr. Shales, of Portsmouth. This morning Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the publique, unless Sir Edward Nicholas. Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but all for his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seale, a destroyer of every body's business, and do no good at all to the publique. The Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>2</sup> speaks very little, nor do much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me, he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor by Digby, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King; and making the King to trot every day to him, when he is well enough to go to visit his cozen Chief-Justice Hide, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane<sup>3</sup> for his corruption; and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour

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<sup>1</sup> By Charles Cotton. He published also the "Wonders of the Peak in Derbyshire" and "Lucian Burlesqued." (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Sheldon.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, Oct. 12, 1663.



by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. That nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtfull of himself, and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's eare nor council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad every where ; and even in the Council nobody minds the publique.

3rd. To the office, where we sat all the morning making a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for provisions for the yeare coming. My wife and I out of doors thinking to have gone to have seen a play, but when we came to take coach, they tell us there are none this week, being the first of Lent. But, Lord ! to see how impatient I found myself within to see a play, I being at liberty once a month to see one.

4th. To my Lord Sandwich, with whom I spoke, walking a good while with him in his garden, which and the house is very fine, talking of my Lord Peterborough's accounts, wherein he is concerned both for the foolery as also inconvenience which may happen upon my Lord Peterborough's ill-stating of his matters, so as to have his gaine discovered unnecessarily. We did talk long and freely that I hope the worst is past and all will be well. There were several people trying a new-fashion gun<sup>1</sup> brought my Lord this

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<sup>1</sup> A specimen of an early revolver. See Diary, July 3rd, 1662. I recollect seeing an ancient one at Dresden formerly. (M. B.)



morning, to shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. Thence to Woolwich, and at Greenwich I observed the foundation laying of a very great house for the King,<sup>1</sup> which will cost a great deale of money. To White Hall, and there being met by the Duke of York, he called me to him and discoursed a pretty while with me about the new ship's dispatch building at Woolwich, and talking of the charge did say that he finds always the best the most cheape, instancing in French guns, which in France you may buy for 4 pistoles, as good to look to as others of 16, but not the service. I never had so much discourse with the Duke before, and till now did ever fear to meet him. Thence to my Lord's, and took up my wife, whom my lady has received with her old good nature and kindnesse. After a dish of coffee home, and at my office a good while, and then to supper, my wife and I had a good fowle, and then I to the office again and so home, my mind in great ease to think of our coming to so good a respect with my Lord again, and my Lady, and that my Lady do so much cry up my father's usage of her children, and the goodness of the ayre there, found in the young ladies' faces at their return thence, as she says, as also my being put into the commission of the Fishery, for which I must give my Lord thanks.

5th. To the office, where, though I had a great cold, I was forced to speak much upon a publique

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<sup>1</sup> Building by Webb, the kinsman and executor of Inigo Jones; now a part of Greenwich Hospital.

meeting of the East India Company, at our office ; where was also my Lord George Barkeley, in behalfe of the company of merchants. I suppose he is on that company, who, hearing my name, took notice of me, and condoled my cozen Edward Pepys's death, not knowing whose son I was, nor did demand it of me. We broke up without coming to any conclusion, for want of my Lord Marlborough. I to the 'Change, where to drink a dish of coffee, and so home to dinner, and then to the office all the afternoon.

6th (Lord's day). Up, and my cold continuing in great extremity I could not go out to church, but sat all day till night drawing up a second letter to Mr. Coventry about the measure of masts to my great satisfaction.

7th. My wife and I by coach to the Duke's house, where we saw "*The Unfortunate Lovers* ;"<sup>1</sup> but I know not whether I am grown more curious than I was or no, but I was not much pleased with it, though I know not where to lay the fault, unless it was that the house was very empty, by reason of a new play at the other house. Yet here was my Lady Castlemaine in a box, and it was pleasant to hear an ordinary lady hard by us, that it seems did not know her before, say, being told who she was, that "she was well enough."

8th. Up with some little discontent with my wife upon her saying that she had got and used some

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<sup>1</sup> A Tragedy by Sir W. Davenant, licensed 1638, printed 1643. (M. B.)

puppy-dog water, being put upon it by a desire of my Aunt Wight to get some for her, who has a mind, unknown to her husband, to get some for her ugly face. I to the office, where we sat all the morning, doing not much business through the multitude of counsellors, one hindering another. Luellin came and dined with me, but we made no long stay at dinner; for "*Heraclius*"<sup>1</sup> being acted, which my wife and I have a mighty mind to see, we do resolve, though not exactly agreeing with the letter of my vowe, yet altogether with the sense, to see another this month, by going hither instead of that at Court, there having been none conveniently since I made my vowe; besides we did walk home on purpose to make this going as cheap as that would have been, to have seen one at Court, and my conscience knows that it is only the saving of money and the time also that I intend by my oaths, and this has cost no more of either, so that my conscience before God do after good consultation and resolution of paying my forfeit, did my conscience accuse me of breaking my vowe, I do not find myself in the least apprehensive that I have done any violence to my oaths. The play hath one very good passage well managed, about two persons pretending, and yet denying themselves, to be son to the tyrant Phocas, and yet heir of Mauricius to the

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<sup>1</sup> "*Heraclius*; or, the Emperor of the East," translated from the French of Corneille, by Ludovic Carlell. Pepys saw it again, 4th Feb., 1666-7, at the Duke's Theatre. Carlell's translation (4to, 1664) was, it is said, never acted. The play which Pepys saw was probably never printed. He saw it at the Duke's Theatre.

crowne. The garments like Romans very well. The little girle <sup>1</sup> is come to act very prettily, and spoke the epilogue most admirably. But at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habitts, above all that ever I yet saw at any of the theatres. Walked home, calling to see my brother Tom, who is in bed, and I doubt very ill of a consumption.

10th. To dinner with my wife, to a good hog's harslet,<sup>2</sup> a piece of meat I love, but have not eat of these seven years. At the Privy Seale I enquired, and found the Bill come for the Corporation of the Royall Fishery ;<sup>3</sup> whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons, to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives : whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one ; and take it not only as a matter of honour, but that, that may come to be of profit to me.

12th. To the office where busy till noon, vexed to see how Sir J. Minnes deserves rather to be pitied for his dotage and folly than employed at a great salary to ruin the King's business.

<sup>1</sup> Her dancing is mentioned 23rd February, 1662-3. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The inside; pluck, fry, &c. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> There had been recently established, under the Great Seal of England, a Corporation for the Royal Fishing, of which the Duke of York was Governor, Lord Craven Deputy-Governor, and the Lord Mayor and Chamberlain of London, for the time being, Treasurers, in which body was vested the sole power of licensing lotteries. — *The Newes*, Oct. 6, 1664.

14th. Up, and walked to my brother's, where I find he has continued talking idle all night and now knows me not, which troubles me mightily. Thence to White Hall ; and in the Duke's chamber, while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highnesse how the other night, in Holborne, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy came by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the whole family was frighted, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire : so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcone, but it was not open ; the other went up to fetch down his children, that were in bed ; so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom.<sup>1</sup> It seems my Lord Southampton's canaille<sup>2</sup> did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came ; which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. Thence home, where my wife and I fell out about my not being willing to have her have her gowne laced, but would lay out the same money and more on a plain new one. At this she flounced away in a manner I never saw her, nor which I could ever endure. So I away to the office, though she had dressed herself to go see my Lady Sandwich. She by and by in a rage follows me, and coming to me tells me in spitefull manner like a vixen

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<sup>1</sup> "The Intelligencer" of March 12, 1663-4, notices the fall of the house here mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the sewer from Lord Southampton's house.

and with a look full of rancour that she would go buy a new one and lace it and make me pay for it, and then let me burn it if I would after she had done it, and so went away in fury. This vexed me cruelly, but being very busy I had not hand to give myself up to consult what to do in it, but anon, I suppose after she saw that I did not follow her, she came again to the office, where I made her stay, being busy with another, half an houre, and her stomach<sup>1</sup> coming down we were presently friends, and so after my business being over at the office we out and by coach to my Lady Sandwich's with whom I left my wife and I to my brother's. The doctors give him over and so do all that see him. He talks no sense two words together now; and I confess it made me weepe to see that he should not be able, when I asked him, to say who I was. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristoll, they say, is hushed up; and the latter gone or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

16th. Up, and down to my cozen Stradwick's and uncle Fenner's about discoursing for the funeral, which I am resolved to put off till Friday next. To my brother's to look after things, and saw the coffin

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<sup>1</sup> Pride.

“He was a man  
Of an unbounded *stomach*, ever ranking  
Himself with princes.”

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII.* act iv. sc. 2. (M. B.)

brought ; and by and by Mrs. Holden came and saw him nailed up. This day the Parliament met again, after a long prorogation, but what they have done I have not been in the way to hear.

17th. Up and to my brother's where all the morning doing business against to-morrow. So to the office, where we sat this afternoon, having changed this day our sittings from morning to afternoon, because of the Parliament which returned yesterday ; but was adjourned till Monday next, upon pretence that many of the members were said to be upon the road ; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristoll, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while (pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the difference between him and the Chancellor made up,) endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting ; and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbleton, where he was in the morning, but could not find him : at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy : and it seems would make Digby's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against his Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say ; and God knows what will follow upon it ! After office I to my brother's again, preparing things against to-morrow ; and this night I have altered my



resolution of burying him in the churchyarde among my young brothers and sisters, and bury him in the church, in the middle isle, as near as I can to my mother's pew. This costs me 20s. more. Home by coach, bringing my brother's silver tankard for safety along with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's, where a great while putting things in order against anon; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me; so to my brother's and to the church,<sup>1</sup> and with the grave-maker chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombes are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, (as his owne words were,) "I will justle them together but I will make room for him;" speaking of the fulness of the middle isle, where he was to lie; and that he would for my father's sake, do my brother that is dead all the civility he can; which was to disturb other corps that are not quite rotten, to make room for him; and methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable; as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. At noon my wife comes, and back with me, where I dressed myself, and so did my servant Besse; and so to my brother's again: whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they

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<sup>1</sup> St. Bride's, of which Richard Pierson, D.D., the vicar, officiated at the funeral. "March 18, 1663-4, Mr. Thomas Pepys." — *Burial Register of St. Bride's, Fleet Street.*

came not till four or five. But at last one after another they came, many more than I bid : and my reckoning that I bid was one hundred and twenty ; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cosen Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above ; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But above all, I am beholden to Mrs. Holden, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and every thing else ready, but this day is going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think ; the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the streete to the Conduit, and so across the streete, and had a very good company along with the corps. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for buriall ; and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave ; and so all broke up ; and I and my wife and Madam Turner and her family to my brother's, and by and by fell to a barrell of oysters, cake, and cheese, of Mr. Honiwood's, with him, in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord ! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man, an houre after he is dead ! And, indeed, I must blame myself ; for though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he

was in my sight, yet presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the buriall, and in looking over his papers, among which I find several letters of my brother John to him speaking very foule words of me and my deportment to him here, and very crafty designs about Sturtlow land and God knows what. Anon my father and my brother John came to towne by coach. He, poor man, very sad and sickly.

20th (Lord's day). We lay talking among other things of religion, wherein I am sorry so often to hear my wife talk of her being and resolving to die a Catholique, and indeed a small matter, I believe, would absolutely turn her, which I am sorry for.

21st. By and by my father came, poor man, to me, and my brother John. After much talke and taking them up to my chamber, I did there after some discourse bring in my business of anger with John, and did before my father read all his roguish letters, which troubled my father mightily, especially to hear me say what I did, against my allowing any thing for the time to come to him out of my owne purse, and other words very severe, while he, like a simple rogue, made very silly and churlish answers to me, not like a man of any goodness or witt, at which I was as much disturbed as the other, and will be as good as my word in making him to his cost know that I will remember

his carriage to me in this particular the longest day I live. It troubled me to see my poor father so troubled, whose good nature did make him, poor wretch, to yield, I believe, to comply with my brother Tom and him in part of their designs. They dined with me and after dinner abroad with my wife and I to the office. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queene with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he desired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read to-morrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23rd. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men of Islands now and then rising and falling again in the Sea, and that there is many dangers of grounds and rocks that come just up to the edge almost of the sea, that are never discovered and ships perish without the world's knowing the reason of it. Among other things, they observed, that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz. Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Penn, and not above twenty or thirty merchants; which is a strange thing in an island, and no wonder that things of trade go no better nor are better understood.

Thence home, in the evening my Lady Jemimah, Paulina, and Madam Pickering come to see us, but my wife would not be seen, being unready.<sup>1</sup> Very merry with them; they mightily talking of their thrifty living for a fortnight before their mother came to towne, and other such simple talke, and of their merry life at Brampton, at my father's, this winter.

24th. Called up by my father, poor man, coming to advise with me about Tom's house and other matters, and he being gone I down by water to Greenwich and did much business and so to Woolwich and Deptford and did the like there, and then walked to Redriffe, calling and eating a bit of collops and eggs at Half-way house.

25th (Lady Day). To White Hall, and there to chappell; where it was most infinite full to hear Dr. Critton.<sup>2</sup> Being not knowne, some great persons in the pew I pretended to, and went in, did question my coming in. I told them my pretence; so they turned to the orders of the chappell, which hung behind upon the wall, and read it, and were satisfied; but they did not demand whether I was in waiting or no; and so I was in some fear lest he that was in waiting might come and betray me. The Doctor preached upon the thirty-first of Jeremy, and the twenty-first and twenty-second verses, about a woman compassing a man; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* undressed. See note, 12th October, 1662. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Creighton. See 7th March, 1661-62. (M. B.)

ever heard him make, I must confess ; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyter John (a short coat and a long gowne interchangeably) in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate in praise of his owne lenity ; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate : which he compared to the proceeding of the Long Parliament against my Lord Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice ; and the Bishoppes, their powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies plainly, speaking of death and of the skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference ; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pyoneer ; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's, or fair Rosamond's, or Jane Shore's.<sup>1</sup> With my wife to see my father and discourse how he finds Tom's matters which he do very ill, and that he finds him to have been so negligent, that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly

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<sup>1</sup> The preacher had been studying the gravediggers' scene in "Hamlet."

cutting out any thing himself; and, by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to owe above 290*l.*, and to be coming to him under 200*l.* Thence home with my wife on foot and bought some fowle in Gracious Streete and some oysters against our feast to-morrow.

26th. To my office, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts for Tangier, wherein we proceeded a good way; but, Lord! to see how ridiculous Mr. Povy is in all he says or do; like a man not more fit for to be in such employments as he is, and particularly that of Treasurer, as he is to be King of England. In discourse Sir W. Rider said, that he hath kept a journal of his life for almost these forty years, even to this day and still do, which pleases me mightily. So home, this being my solemn feast for my cutting of the stone, it being now, blessed be God! this day six years since the time; and I bless God I do in all respects find myself free from that disease or any signs of it. Dinner not being presently ready I spent some time myself and shewed them a map of Tangier left this morning at my house by Creed, cut by our order, the Commissioners, and drawn by Jonas Moore, which is very pleasant and I purpose to have it finely set out and hung up. After dinner Sir W. Batten sent to speak with me. He told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the Triennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time to-day, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many



in the House are displeased at it, though they dare not say much. But above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idoll whose head was of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffes, should fail to do it. He tells me also, how, upon occasion of some 'prentices being put in the pillory to-day for beating of their masters or some such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices<sup>1</sup> came and rescued them, and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again. So that the Lord Mayor and Major General Browne was fain to come and stay there, to keep the peace; and drums, all up and down the city, was beat to raise the trained bands, for to quiett the towne, and by and by, going out, we saw a trained band stand in Cheapside on their guard. It raining very fast, we met many brave coaches coming from the Parke and so we home ourselves, and ended the day with great content to think how it has pleased the Lord in six years time to raise me from a condition of constant and dangerous and most painfull sicknesse and low condition and poverty to a state of constant health almost, great honour and plenty, for which the Lord God of heaven make me truly thankfull. My wife found her gowne come home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but

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<sup>1</sup> Two servants of one Ireland, a cooper upon Bread Street Hill. — *The Intelligencer*, March 28, 1664.

will cost me a great deale of money, more than ever I intended, but it is but for once.

27th (Lord's day). Lay long in bed wrangling with my wife about the charge she puts me to at this time for clothes more than I intended, and very angry we were but quietly friends again. It being church time, walked to St. James's, to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not ; only saw her sister, who indeed is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields ;<sup>1</sup> but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington, to the old man's, at the King's Head, to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts) that I did not know which was the ducking-pond nor where I was. So home ; and in Cheapside, both coming and going, it was full of apprentices, who have been here all this day, and have done violence, I think, to the master of the boys that were put in the pillory yesterday. But, Lord ! to see how the train-bands are raised upon this : the drums beating every where as if an enemy were upon them ; so much is the city subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one

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<sup>1</sup> In Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," there is an allusion to the "Citizens that come a-ducking to Islington Ponds." The piece of ground long since built upon, in the Back Road, was called "Ducking-pond Field," from the pool in which the unfortunate ducks were hunted by dogs, to amuse the Cockneys, who went to Islington to breathe fresh air and drink cream. The King's Head tavern stood opposite the church. Islington was classic ground to Pepys, as he speaks of the house in which he had been nursed at Kingsland.

little one, that I demanded the business of. He told me that that had never been done in the city since it was a city, two prentices put in the pillory, and that it ought not to be so. So I walked home, and then it being fine moonshine with my wife an houre in the garden, talking of her clothes against Easter and about her mayds, Jane being to be gone, and the great dispute whether Besse, whom we both love, should be raised to be chamber-mayde or no. We have both a mind to it, but know not whether we should venture the making her proud and so make a bad chamber-mayde of a very good-natured and sufficient cook-mayde.

28th. To T. Trice, and advised with him about our administering to my brother Tom, but, Lord ! what a shame, methinks, to me, that, in this condition, and at this age, I should know no better the laws of my owne country. Thence to Westminster and spent till noon, it being Parliament time. At past 4 o'clock I heard that the Parliament was not up and so being very hungry, and meeting with Sir J. Minnes went over with him to the Leg, and before we had cut a bit, the house rises, however we eat a bit and away to St. James's and there eat a second part of our dinner with Mr. Coventry. The great matter to-day in the House hath been, that Mr. Vaughan,<sup>1</sup> the great speaker, is this day come to towne, and hath declared himself in a speech of an houre and a half, with great reason and elo-

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<sup>1</sup> John Vaughan, afterwards knighted, and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

quence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments ; but with no successe : but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring this Act. But, Lord ! to see how the best things are not done without some design ; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with to-day were against it (though there was reason enough on their side) ; yet purely, I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it ; and should he demand any thing else, I believe they would give it him. But this the discontented Presbyters, and the faction of the House will be highly displeased with ; but it was carried clearly against them in the House. We had excellent good table-talk, some of which I have entered in my book of stories. Home, and there find by my wife, that Father Fogourdy hath been with her to-day, and she is mightily for our going to hear a famous Roulé preach at the French Ambassador's house : I pray God he do not tempte her in any matters of religion, which troubles me ; and also, she had messages from her mother to-day, who sent for her old morning-gowne, which was almost past wearing ; and I used to call it her kingdom,<sup>1</sup> from the ease and content she

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<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the lines —

“ My mind to me a kingdom is,  
Such perfect joy therein I find,” &c.

This song was set to music by William Byrd, one of the gentlemen of the Queene's Majesties honorable Chappell, probably before 1588, in a book called “ Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadnesse and Pietie,” and it is quoted by

used to have in the wearing of it. I am glad I do not hear of her begging any thing of more value, but I do not like that these messages should now come all upon Monday morning, when my wife expects of course I should be abroad at the Duke's.

29th. Was called up this morning by a messenger from Sir G. Carteret to come to him to examine his accounts, and there we sat at it all the morning. About noon Sir W. Batten came from the House of Parliament and told us our Bill for our office was read the second time to-day, with great applause, and is committed. By and by to dinner, where good cheere, and Sir G. Carteret in his humour a very good man, and the most kind father and pleased father in his children that ever I saw. Here is now hung up a picture of my Lady Carteret, drawn by Lilly, a very fine picture, but yet not so good as I have seen of his doing.

30th. At 7 o'clock to Sir G. Carteret, and there with Sir J. Minnes made an end of his accounts, but staid not dinner, my Lady having made us drink our morning draft there of several wines, but I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it. Thence to the 'Change a great while, and had good discourse with Captain Cocke at the Coffee-house about a Dutch warr, and it seems the King's design is by getting underhand

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Ben Jonson in his play of "Every Man out of his Humour," first acted in 1599. On the authority of an old MS. in the Bodleian Library, it has been attributed to Sir Edward Dyer.

the merchants to bring in their complaints to the parliament, to make them in honour begin a warr, which he cannot in honour declare first, for fear they should not second him with money.

31st. To my office, where comes, by and by, Povy, Sir W. Rider, Mr. Bland, Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which we now went through, but with great difficulty, and many high words between Mr. Povy and I; for I could not endure to see so many things extraordinary put in, against truthe and reason. He was very angry, but I endeavoured all I could to profess my satisfaction in my Lord's part of the accounts, but not in those foolish idle things, they say I said, that others had put in. Anon we rose and parted, both of us angry, but I contented, because I knew all of them must know I was in the right. To an alehouse hard by, where my cozen Scott was, and my father's new tenant, Langford, a tailor, to whom I have promised my custom, and he seems a very modest, carefull young man. Thence my wife coming with the coach to the alley end I home, and after supper to the making up my monthly accounts, and to my great content find myself worth above 900*l.*, the greatest sum I ever yet had. My head of late mighty full of business, and with good content to myself in it, though sometimes it troubles me that nobody else but I should bind themselves to serve the King with that diligence, whereby much of my pains proves ineffectual.

April 1st. To the 'Change, where I found all the

merchants concerned with the presenting their complaints to the Committee of Parliament appointed to receive them this afternoon against the Dutch. To White Hall; and in the Gallery met the Duke of York (I also saw the Queene going to the Parke, and her Mayds of Honour: she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stewart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was); and he called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me; and after he was gone, twice or thrice staid and called me again to him, the whole length of the house: and at last talked of the Dutch; and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them. To walk in the garden with W. Howe, he telling me how my Lord is little at home, minds his carding and little else, takes little notice of any body; but that he do not think he is displeased, as I fear, with me, but is strange to all. This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wells, writ long ago, teaching the method of building a ship, which pleases me mightily.

2nd. To my office, where great contest with Sir W. Batten and Mr. Wood, and that doting fellow Sir J. Minnes, who says whatever Sir W. Batten says, though never minding whether to the King's profit or not. At noon to the Coffee-house, where excellent discourse with Sir W. Petty, who proposed it as a thing truly questionable, whether there really be any difference between waking and dreaming, that it is hard not only to tell how we know when we do a thing really or



in a dream, but also to know what the difference is between one and the other. Sir Thomas Chamberlin tells me that the complaints of most Companies were yesterday presented to the Committee of Parliament against the Dutch, excepting that of the East India, which he tells me was because they would not be said to be the first and only cause of a warr with Holland, and that it is very probable, as well as most necessary, that we fall out with that people.

3rd (Lord's day). Called up by W. Joyce,<sup>1</sup> he being summonsed to the House of Lords to-morrow, for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters<sup>2</sup> for a debt. In the afternoon my wife sent for me home, to see her new laced gowne, and indeed it becomes her very nobly, and is well made. I am much pleased with it.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who told me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melancholy taking. After a little discourse I to the Lords' House before they sat; and stood within it a good while, while the Duke of York came to me and spoke to me a good while about the new ship at Woolwich. Afterwards I spoke with my Lord Barkeley and my Lord

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<sup>1</sup> William Joyce had married Mr. Pepys's first cousin, Kate Fenner.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of John Earl Rivers, and first wife to William, fourth Lord Petre, who was, in 1678, impeached by the Commons of High Treason, and died under confinement in the Tower, January 5th, 1683, *s. p.*

Peterborough about it.<sup>1</sup> And so staid without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And at last W. Joyce was called in; and by the consequences, and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod: which is very hard, he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peter's owne steward. But the Sergeant of the Black Rod did direct one of his messengers to take him in custody, and so he was peaceably conducted to the Swan with two Necks, in Tuttle-street, to a handsome dining-room; and there was most civilly used, my uncle Fenner, and his brother Anthony, and some other friends being with him. But who would have thought that the fellow that I should have sworne could have spoken before all the world should in this be so daunted, as not to know what he said, and now to cry like a child. So away to Westminster Hall, and meeting Mr. Coventry, he took me to his chamber, with Sir William Hickman,<sup>2</sup> a member of their house, and a very civill gentleman. Here we dined very plentifully, and thence to White Hall to the Duke's, where we all met, and after some discourse of the condition of the Fleete, in order to a Dutch warr, for that, I perceive, the Duke hath a mind it should come to,

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<sup>1</sup> W. Joyce's business. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Only son of Sir Willoughby Hickman, of Gainsborough, who had been created a Baronet in 1643, and whom he succeeded in his title and estates. He was M. P. for East Retford.

we away to the office. It was a sad sight, methought, to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House fall out with his lady (from whom he is parted) about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is, it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high-spirited.

5th. Up very betimes, and walked to my cozen Anthony Joyce's, and thence with him to his brother Will, in Tuttle Street, where I find him pretty cheery over what he was yesterday, like a coxcomb, his wife being come to him, and having had his boy with him last night. Thence back, and there spoke to several Lords, and so did his solicitor, one that W. Joyce hath promised 5*l.* to if he be released. Lord Peterborough presented a petition to the House from W. Joyce: and a great dispute, we hear, there was in the House for and against it. At last it was carried that he should be bayled till the House meets again after Easter, he giving bond for his appearance. Anon comes the King and passed the Bill for repealing the Triennial Act, and another about Writs of Errour. I crowded in and heard the King's speech to them; but he speaks the worst that ever I heard man in my life: worse than if he read it all, and he had it in writing in his hand. I went to W. Joyce, where I find the order come, and bayle (his father and brother) given; and he paying his fees, which come to above 12*l.*, besides 5*l.* he is to give one man, and his charges of eating and drinking here, and 10*s.* a-day as many days as he stands under bayle: which,

I hope, will teach him hereafter to hold his tongue better than he used to do. This day great numbers of merchants came to a grand Committee of the House to bring in their claims against the Dutch. I pray God guide the issue to our good !

6th. Up and to my office, whither by and by came John Noble, my father's old servant, to speake with me. I smelling the business, took him home ; and there, all alone, he told me how he had been serviceable to my brother Tom, in the business of his getting his servant, an ugly jade, Margaret, with child. She was brought to bed in St. Sepulchre's parish of two children ; one is dead, the other is alive ; her name Elizabeth, and goes by the name of Taylor, daughter to John Taylor. It seems Tom did a great while trust one Crawly with the business, who daily got money of him ; and at last, finding himself abused, he broke the matter to J. Noble, upon a vowe of secresy. Tom's first plott was to go on the other side of the water and give a beggar woman something to take the child. They did once go, but did nothing, J. Noble saying that seven years hence the mother might come to demand the child and force him to produce it, or to be suspected of murder. Then I think it was that they consulted, and got one Cave, a poor pensioner in St. Bride's parish to take it, giving him 5*l.*, he thereby promising to keepe it for ever without more charge to them. The parish hereupon indite the man Cave for bringing this child upon the parish, and by Sir Richard Browne he is sent to the

Counter. Cave thence writes to Tom to get him out. Tom answers him in a letter of his owne hand, which J. Noble shewed me, but not signed by him, wherein he speaks of freeing him and getting security for him, but nothing as to the business of the child, or anything like it: so that forasmuch as I could guess, there is nothing therein to my brother's prejudice as to the main point, and therefore I did not labour to tear or take away the paper. Cave being released, demands 5*l.* more to secure my brother for ever against the child; and he was forced to give it him and took bond of Cave in 100*l.*, made at a scrivener's, one Hudson, I think, in the Old Bayly, to secure John Taylor, and his assigns, &c., in consideration of 10*l.* paid him, from all trouble, or charge of meat, drink, clothes, and breeding of Elizabeth Taylor; and it seems, in the doing of it, J. Noble was looked upon as the assignee of this John Taylor. Noble says that he furnished Tom with this money, and is also bound by another bond to pay him 20*s.* more this next Easter Monday; but nothing for either sum appears under Tom's hand. I told him how I am like to lose a great sum by his death, and would not pay any more myself, but I would speake to my father about it against the afternoon. After dinner took coach and to Paternoster Row, and there bought a pretty silke for a petticoate for my wife. I heard to-day that the Dutch have begun with us by granting letters of marke against us; but I believe it not.

7th. To the 'Change, where high talke of the

Dutch protest against our Royall Company in Guinny, and their granting letters of marke against us there, and every body expects a warr, but I hope it will not yet be so, nor that this is true. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricassee of veal.

8th. Sir William Batten and I to Deptford to the Alms'-house to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House; and a good worke it is. Into a cane shop and bought one to walk with, cost me 4s. 6d., all of one joint. So home to dinner, and had an excellent Good Friday dinner of peas porridge and apple pye. So to the office all the afternoon preparing a new book for my contracts. Then home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wiggs<sup>1</sup> and ale.

10th (Lord's day). My wife dressed herself, it being Easter day, but I not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, staid at home with me; for she had put on her best gowne, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her taylor brought home her other new-laced silke gowne with a smaller lace, and new petticoate, I bought the other day: both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talke and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Buns, still called wiggs in the West of England. See 6th March, 1660-61. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Pepys had been mistaken in fancying that Fuller's "Worthies" was to

12th. To my uncle Wight's, where dined my father, poor melancholy man, that used to be as full of life as anybody, and also my aunt's brother, Mr. Sutton, a merchant in Flanders, a very sober, fine man, and Mr. Cole and his lady ; but, Lord ! how I used to adore that man's talke, and now methinks he is but an ordinary man, his son a pretty boy indeed, but his nose unhappily awry. To my Lord's. I found my Lord and ladies and my wife at supper. My Lord seems very kind. So home, and find my father come to lie at our house, and so supped, and saw him, poor man, to bed, my heart never being fuller of love to him, nor admiration of his prudence and pains heretofore in the world than now, to see how Tom hath carried himself in his trade ; and how the poor man hath his thoughts going to provide for his younger children and my mother. But I hope they shall never want.

13th. To St. James's, where I found Mr. Coventry, the Duke being now come thither for the summer, with a goldsmith, sorting out his old plate to change for new ; but, Lord ! what a deale he hath ! Then to talk of our business with the Dutch ; he tells me fully that he believes it will not come to a warr ; for first, he shewed me a letter from Sir George Downing, his owne hand, where he assures him that the Dutch

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be a history of all the families in England (see *ante*, Jan. 22, 1660-1, and Feb. 10, 1661-2), and hence his disappointment, when the work came out, some months after the author's decease, at there being no mention in it of his ancestors. He then looked for the Cliffords, in hopes of finding his wife's lineage ; but with no better success.



themselves do not desire, but above all things fear it, and that they neither have given letters of marke against our ships in Guinny, nor do De Ruyter stay at home with his fleete with an eye to any such thing, but for want of a wind, and is now come out and is going to the Streights. He tells me also that the most he expects is that upon the merchants' complaints, the Parliament will represent them to the King, desiring his securing of his subjects against them, and though perhaps they may not directly see fit, yet even this will be enough to let the Dutch know that the Parliament do not oppose the King, and by that means take away their hopes, which was that the King of England could not get money or do anything towards a warr with them, and so thought themselves free from making any restitution, which by this they will be deceived in. He tells me also that the Dutch states are in no good condition themselves, differing one with another, and that for certain none but the states of Holland and Zealand will contribute towards a warr, the others reckoning themselves, being inland, not concerned in the profits of warr or peace. But it is pretty to see what he says, that these here that are forward for a warr at Court, they are reported in the world to be only designers of getting money into the King's hands, they that elsewhere are for it have a design to trouble the kingdom and to give the Fanatiques an opportunity of doing hurt, and lastly these that are against it (as he himself for one is very cold therein) are said to be bribed by the Dutch.

14th. Up betimes, and after my father's eating something, I walked out with him as far as Milk Streete, he turning down to Cripplegate to take coach; and at the end of the streete I took leave, being much afeard I shall not see him here any more, he do decay so much every day.

15th. At noon to the 'Change, where I met with Mr. Hill, the little merchant, with whom, I perceive, I shall contract a musical acquaintance; but I will make it as little troublesome as I can. With my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there saw "The German Princess"<sup>1</sup> acted, by the woman herself;<sup>2</sup> but never was any thing so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage; and indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two.

16th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House;<sup>3</sup> and after a good and pleasant dinner, up with him, Sir W. Rider, the simple Povy, of all the most ridiculous foole that ever I knew to attend to business, and Creed and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts; but the more we look into them, the more we see of them that makes dispute.

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<sup>1</sup> By Holden. See *ante*, May 29, 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Moders, *alias* Stedman, *alias* Carleton, a celebrated impostor, who had induced the son of a London citizen to marry her under the pretence that she was a German Princess. She next became an actress, after having been tried for bigamy and acquitted. The rest of her life was one continued course of robbery and fraud; and in 1678 she suffered at Tyburn, for stealing a piece of plate from a tavern in Chancery Lane.

<sup>3</sup> The African House was in Leadenhall Street.

17th (Lord's day). Up, and I put on my best cloth black suit and my velvet cloake, and with my wife in her best laced suit to church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach : I slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr. Mills, his owne mistake in reading of the service was very remarkable, that instead of saying, "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he cries, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine."

18th. Up and by coach to Westminster, and there solicited W. Joyce's business again ; and did speake to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her ; but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do any thing to release him ; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change ; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent. to any man, to insure him against a Dutch warr for four months ; I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hide Parke, where I have not been since last year ; where I saw the King with his periwig, but not altered at all ; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on ; and many brave persons. And myself

being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physique Garden in St. James's Parke; where I first saw orange-trees,<sup>1</sup> and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us (when, God knows! it is only our owne negligence and laziness that hath done us the wrong): and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that, upon submission upon the knee both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and aske pardon upon his knees; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitifull Lords the King hath; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk; and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory, and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have

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<sup>1</sup> "20 September, 1700. I went to Beddington . . . heretofore adorned with ample gardens and the first orange trees that had been seen in England. [Oranges were eaten in this kingdom in the time of King James I., if not earlier, as appears by the accounts of a student in the Temple, which the editor has seen.]" — EVELYN'S *Diary*. (M. B.)

(The last sentence is a note to Evelyn's text by Mr. Bray, the editor of the *Diary*.)

voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes : which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be, God knows !

22nd. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was full light enough to dress myself and so by water against tide, it being a little coole, to Greenwich ; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. I did much business both at the Ropeyarde and the other and on float. Thence I walked to Greenwich, Mr. Deane with me. Much good discourse and I think is a very just man, only a little conceited, but yet very able in his way and so he by water also with me to towne. I home and by coach to Mrs. Turner's and there got something to eat, and thence after reading part of a good play, Mrs. The., my wife and I, in their coach to Hide Parke, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs. Bendy, my Lady Spillman's faire daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content and so home. I did also carry them into St. James's Parke and shewed them the garden.

23d. I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talke of a Dutch warr ; for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it, and so the next week it will be presented to the King,

insomuch that he do desire we would look about to see what stores we lack, and buy what we can. Home to dinner, where I and my wife much troubled about my money that is in my Lord Sandwich's hand, for fear of his going to sea and being killed ; but I will get what of it out I can.

24th (Lord's day). All the morning in my chamber setting some of my private papers in order, for I perceive that now publique business takes up so much of my time that I must get time a-Sundays or a-nights to look after my owne matters.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's and there up to the Duke, where most of our talke about a Dutch warr. The Duke, which gives me great good hopes, do talk of setting up a good discipline in the fleete. In the Duke's chamber there is a bird, given him by Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, comes from the East Indys, black the greatest part, with the finest collar of white about the neck ; but talks many things and neyes like the horse, and other things, the best almost that ever I heard bird in my life. To my Lord Sandwich's, where by agreement I met my wife, and there dined with the young ladies ; my Lady, being not well, kept her chamber. Much simple discourse at table among the young ladies. After dinner walked in the garden, talking with Mr. Moore about my Lord's business. He told me my Lord runs in debt every day more and more, and takes little care how to come out of it. He counted to me how my Lord pays use now for above 9,000*l.*, which is a sad



thing, especially considering the probability of his going to sea, in great danger of his life, and his children, many of them, to provide for. Thence, the young ladies going out to visit I took my wife by coach out through the city, discoursing how to spend the afternoon; and conquered, with much ado, a desire of going to a play; but took her out at White Chapel, and to Bednal Green; so to Hackney, where I have not been many a year, since a little child I boarded there. Thence to Kingsland, by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I was kept when young. Then to Newington Green, and saw the outside of Mrs. Herbert's house, where she lived, and my Aunt Ellen with her; but, Lord! how in every point I find myself to over-value things when a child. Thence to Islington, and so to St. John's to the Red Bull, and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fought, but with good pleasure enough; and thence back to Islington, and at the King's Head, where Pitts lived, we 'light and eat and drunk for remembrance of the old house sake; and so through Kingsland again, and so to Bishopsgate and so home with great pleasure. The country mighty pleasant, only a little troubled at the young ladies leaving my wife so to-day, and from some passages fearing my Lady might be offended. But I hope the best.

26th. Saw W. Joyce; and the late business hath cost the poor man above 40*l.*; besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Thence to my Lord's and with him I rode in his coach to St. James's, talking about W.



Joyce's business ; and my Lady Peters, he says, is a drunken jade, he himself having seen her drunk in the lobby of their House. I went up with my Lord to the Duke, where methought the Duke did not shew him any so great fondness as he was wont ; and methought my Lord was not pleased that I should see the Duke made no more of him, not that I know any thing of any unkindnesse, but I think verily he is not as he was with him in his esteem. By and by the Duke went out and we with him through the Parke and there I left him, and Creed and I walked round the Parke, a pleasant walk, observing the birds, which is very pleasant ; and so walked to the New Exchange, and there had a most delicate dish of curds and creame. Home to the Old Exchange by coach, where great newes and true, I saw by written letters, of strange fires seen at Amsterdam in the ayre, and not only there, but in other places thereabout. The talke of a Dutch warr is not so hot, but yet I fear it will come to it. My wife gone this afternoon to the buriall of my she-cozen Scott, a good woman ; and it is a sad consideration how the Pepys's decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of encreasing them.

27th. All the morning very busy with multitude of clients, till my head began to be overloaded. With Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry discoursed of some tarr that I have been endeavouring to buy, for the market begins apace to rise upon us. Home by coach with Alderman Backewell, whose opinion is that the

Dutch will not give over the business without putting us to some trouble to set out a fleete ; and then, if they see we go on well, will seek to salve up the matter. To my cozen Roger Pepys's chamber and there he did advise me about our Exchequer business and also about my brother John, he is put by my father upon interceding for him, but I will not yet seem the least to pardon him nor can I in my heart. However he and I did talk how to get him a mandamus for a fellowship, which I will endeavour. Thence to my Lady's and in my way met Mr. Sanchy, of Cambridge, whom I have not met a great while. He seems a simple fellow, and tells me their master, Dr. Rainbow,<sup>1</sup> is newly made Bishop of Carlisle. This day the Houses attended the King, and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch ; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

29th. To St. James's, and there with Mr. Coventry did proceed strictly upon some fooleries of Mr. Povy's in my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which will touch him home and I am glad of it, for he is the most troublesome impertinent man that I ever met with. After dinner my wife and I by coach to see my Lady Sandwich, where we find all the children and my Lord removed, and the house so melancholy, that I thought my Lady had been dead, knowing that she was not well ; but it seems she hath the meazles, and I fear the small pox, poor lady. It grieves me mightily ; for

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<sup>1</sup> Of Magdalene College. See *ante*, April 8, 1663.

it will be a sad houre to the family should she mis-carry.

30th. All the newes now is what will become of the Dutch business, whether warr or peace. We all seem to desire it, as thinking ourselves to have advantages at present over them, for my part I dread it. My Lord Bristoll's business is hushed up, and nothing made of it, he is gone and the discourse quite ended.

May 2nd. By coach to the King's Play-house to see "The Labyrinth,"<sup>1</sup> but, coming too soon, walked to my Lord's to hear how my Lady do, who is pretty well; at least past all fear. There by Captain Ferrers meeting with an opportunity of my Lord's coach, to carry us to the Parke anon, we directed it to come to the play-house door; and so we walked, my wife and I and Mademoiselle. I paid for her going in and there saw "The Labyrinth," the poorest play, methinks, that ever I saw, there being nothing in it but the odd accidents that fell out, by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in woman's. Here was Mrs. Stewart, who is indeed very pretty, but not like my Lady Castlemaine, for all that. Thence in the coach to the Parke, where no pleasure; there being much dust, little company, and one of our horses almost spoiled by falling down, and getting his leg over the pole; but all mended presently, and after riding up and down, home. Set Mademoiselle at home, and we home, and to my office, whither comes

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<sup>1</sup> Or "The Fatal Embarrassment," taken from Corneille.

Mr. Bland, and pays me the debt he acknowledged he owed me for my service in his business of the Tangier merchant, twenty pieces of new gold, a pleasant sight. It cheered my heart ; and he being gone, I home to supper, and shewed them my wife ; and she, poor wretch, would fain have kept them to look on, without any other design but a simple love to them ; but I thought it not convenient, and so took them into my own hand.

3rd. Drank my morning draft in good chocolate, and slabbering my band sent home for another, and so to Mr. Coventry's chamber where I endeavoured to shew the folly and punish it as much as I could of Mr. Povy ; for, of all the men in the world, I never knew any man of his degree so great a coxcomb in such employments. I see I have lost him for ever, but I value it not ; for he is a coxcomb, and, I doubt, not over honest, by some things which I see ; and yet, for all his folly, he hath the good lucke, now and then, to speak his follies in as good words, and with as good a show, as if it were reason, and to the purpose, which is really one of the wonders of my life. Thence walked to Westminster Hall ; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three, hear the cause of Mr. Roberts,<sup>1</sup> my Lord Privy Seale's son, against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Roberts's wife (Mr. Bodvill) to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter. The

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* "Lords' Journals of the day."

cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seale by Finch the solicitor; but I do really think that he is truly a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson hath proclaimed warr again with Argier, though they had at his first coming given back the ships which they had taken, and all their men; though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them. I went with Mr. Norbury near hand to the Fleece, a mum house in Leadenhall, and there drunk mum<sup>1</sup> and by and by broke up.

4th. Up, and my new Tailor, Langford, comes and takes measure of me for a new black cloth suit and cloake, and I think he will prove a very carefull fellow and will please me well. Thence to attend my Lord Peterborough in bed and give him an account of yesterday's proceeding with Povy. I perceive I labour in a business will bring me little pleasure; but no matter, I shall do the King some service. To my cozen Scott's. There condoled with him the loss of my cozen, his wife, and talked about his matters, as attorney to my father, in his administering to my brother Tom. He tells me we are like to receive some shame about the business of his bastarde with Jack Noble; but no matter, so it cost us no money. The plague increases at Amsterdam. In the afternoon comes Mr. Peter Honiwood to see me and gives me 20s., his

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<sup>1</sup> See note, April 22nd, 1661. (M. B.)

and his friends' pence for my brother John, which, God forgive my pride, methinks I think myself too high to take of him ; but it is an ungrateful pitch of pride in me, which God forgive.

5th. Abroad to change some plate for my father to send to-day by the carrier to Brampton, but I observe and do fear it may be to my wrong that I change spoons of my uncle Robert's into new and set a P upon them that thereby I cannot claim them hereafter. However, the matter of this is not great, and so I did it. So to the 'Change, and meeting Sir W. Warren, with him to a taverne, and there talked of the evils the King suffers in our ordering of business in the Navy, as Sir W. Batten now forces us by his knavery. My eyes begin every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight ; which I never observed till now.

7th. After dinner comes Deane of Woolwich and I spent, as I had appointed, all the afternoon with him about instructions which he gives me to understand the building of a ship, and I think I shall soon understand it.

8th (Lord's day.) This day my new tailor, Mr. Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloake lined with silk moyre. After dinner my wife and I to church, and after church to Sir W. Pen, and there sat and talked with him, and the perfidious rogue seems, as he do always, mightily civil to us, though I know he hates and envies us. So home to supper, prayers, and to bed.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good lady, is now, thanks be to God ! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afeard, to come up to her. So we did ; but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her ; though, poor wretch ! she is as well as ever she was, as to the meazles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things with great pleasure and so away.

12th. Up by 4 o'clock and by water to Woolwich where did some business and walked to Greenwich, there met by appointment Commissioner Pett, and with him to Deptford and so home. By a letter to me this afternoon from Mr. Coventry I saw the first appearance of a warr with Holland.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sunrising ; but by and by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw. I to Woolwich where before all the men came to work I with Mr. Deane spent two hours upon the new ship, informing myself in the names and natures of many parts of her to my great content and so back again, and after shifting myself away to Westminster, looking after Mr. Maes's business and others. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. The Lords would be freed from having their houses searched by any but the Lord Lieutenant of the County ; and upon being found guilty, to be tried only by their peers ;



and thirdly, would have it added, that whereas the Bill says, "That that, among other things, shall be a conventicle wherein any such meeting is found doing any thing contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England," they would have it added, "or practice." The Commons to the Lords said, that they knew not what might hereafter be found out which might be called the practice of the Church of England : for there are many things may be said to be the practice of the Church, which were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon ; as singing of psalms, binding up prayers at the end of the Bible, and praying extempore before and after sermon : and though these are things indifferent, yet things for aught they at present know may be started, which may be said to be the practice of the Church which would not be fit to allow. For the Lords' privileges, Mr. Waller told them how tender their predecessors had been of the privileges of the Lords ; but, however, where the peace of the kingdom stands in competition with them, they apprehend those privileges must give place. He told them that he thought, if they should owne all to be the privileges of the Lords which might be demanded, they should be led like the man (who granted leave to his neighbour to pull off his horse's tail, meaning that he could not do it at once) that hair by hair had his horse's tail pulled off indeed : so the Commons, by granting one thing after another, might be served by the Lords. Mr. Vaughan, whom I could not to my grief perfectly hear, did say, if that

they should be obliged in this manner to exempt the Lords from every thing, it would in time come to pass that whatever (be it ever so great) should be voted by the Commons as a thing penall for a commoner, the contrary should be thought a privilege to the Lords : that also in this business, the work of a conventicle being but the work of an hour, the cause of a search would be over before a Lord Lieutenant, who may be many miles off, can be sent for ; and that all this dispute is but about 100*l.* ; for it is said in the Act, that it shall be banishment or payment of 100*l.* I thereupon heard the Duke of Lenox say, that there might be Lords who could not always be ready to lose 100*l.*, or some such thing. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower, for adding something to a Bill (after it was ordered to be engrossed) of his own head — a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his owne bringing in ; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But, however, the King was fain to write in his behalf, and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryly<sup>1</sup> the

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<sup>1</sup> At the Restoration, William Ryley had been deprived of all his posts, including the office of Clerk of the Tower Records, which was given to Prynne. Ryley was originally made Lancaster Herald by Charles I., but he sided with the Parliament, and devoted himself to Oliver Cromwell. He was fortunate in being afterwards restored to the post of Lancaster Herald, which he held till his death, in 1667, though he failed in getting back Prynne's appointment. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Anthony Chester, Bart.,

Herald, and his son ; and spoke to his son, who told me in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records ; but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months : so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him. Thus every body is liable to be envied and supplanted. I went home-wards, calling upon my cozen Roger Pepys, with whom I talked and heard so much from him of his desire that I would see my brother's debts paid, and things still of that nature tending to my parting with what I get with pain to serve others' expenses that I was cruelly vexed. Thence to Sir R. Bernard, and there heard something of Pigott's delay of paying our money, that that also vexed me mightily. So home and there met with a letter from my cozen Scott, which tells me that he is resolved to meddle no more with our business, of administering for my father, which altogether makes me almost distracted to think of the trouble that I am like to meet with by other folks' business more than ever I hope to have by my owne. So with great trouble of mind to bed.

16th. With Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dogg by letting opium into his hind leg. He and Dr. Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials ; but with the little they got in, the

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of Chichley, Bucks, Ryley had a numerous issue. Perhaps the son here mentioned was William Ryley, described by Prynne as of the Inner Temple, in 1662.

dogg did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a little dogg also, which they put it down his throat ; he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no, after I was gone, I know not, but it is a strange and sudden effect. Thence walked to Westminster Hall, where the King was expected to come to prorogue the House, but it seems, afterwards I hear, he did not come. After supper to bed, my wife and I having talked and concluded upon sending my father an offer of having Pall come to us to be with us for her preferment, if by any means I can get her a husband here, which, though it be some trouble to us, yet it will be better than to have her stay there till nobody will have her and then be flung upon my hands.

18th. Receiving a very wakening letter from Mr. Coventry about fitting of ships, which speaks something like to be done, I went forth to the office, there to take order in things. So home again and to Sir W. Pen, who, among other things of haste in this new order for ships is ordered to be gone presently to Portsmouth to look after the work there. I staid to discourse with him, and so home to supper, where upon a fine couple of pigeons, a good supper ; and here I met a pretty cabinet sent me by Mr. Shales, which I give my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closett. This day I begun to drink buttermilk and whey, and I hope to find great good by it.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier ; where God forgive how our Report of my Lord Peterborough's

accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it ! And had it been what it would, it had gone : and, besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and most of all his affecting to seem great with the Queene : and it seems indeed he had more of her eare than any body else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together ; insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath now the gallant : and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistresse (meaning the Queene) did. He grew so proud and despised every body, besides suffering nobody, he or she, to get or do any thing about the Queene, that they all laboured to do him a good turne. They also say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speake to him of. But strange it is that this man should, from the greatest negligence in the world, come to be the miracle of attendance, so as to take all offices from every body, either men or women, about the Queene. So he is gone, nobody pitying but laughing at him ; and he pretends only that he is gone to his father, that is sicke in the country.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See note in the Grammont Memoirs. " Boyer, in his 'Life of Queen Anne,' says he was dismissed for offending her Majesty by squeezing her

21st. Up, called by Mr. Cholmely, and walked with him in the garden till others came to another Committee of Tangier, to see more of Povy's folly, and so broke up, and at the office sat all the morning, and very hot we are getting out some ships. With my wife called to see my Lady Sandwich, whom we found in her dining-room, which joyed us mightily; but she looks very thin, poor woman, being mightily broke. She told us that Mr. Montagu is to return to Court, as she hears, which I wonder at, and do hardly believe.

22nd (Lord's day). By water to White Hall. Here the Duke of York called me to him, to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay, which I suppose he will take better than if I had been forward to go. Thence, after staying and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to Chappell (but, Lord! what a company of sad, idle people they are) I walked to St. James's and then to White Hall with Mr. Coventry, talking about business. Home, and so to a good supper of pease, the first I eat this year, and so to bed.

23rd. The King is gone down with the Duke and

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hand. Probably he was disgraced for a time, and on that account went abroad." The Duke of York obtained for him the post of Master of Horse to the Queen. (M. B.)

He is mentioned in the State Poems:—

"Montagu, by court disaster,  
Dwindled into the wooden horse's master."

*Advice to a Painter*, part i.

a great crew this morning by break of day to Chat-ham. Towards noon I and my wife by water to Wool-wich to see several ships how ready they are. Then to Mr. Falconer's to a good dinner, having myself carried them a vessel of sturgeon and a Lamprey pie, and then to the Yarde again, and among other things did at Mr. Ackworth's obtain a demonstration of his being a knave ; but I did not discover it, till it be a little more seasonable. So to Deptford, did some business there ; but, Lord ! to see how in both places the King's business, if ever it should come to a warr, is likely to be done, there not being a man that looks or speaks like a man that will take pains, or use any forecast to serve the King, at which I am heartily troubled.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many of my friends are gone, and more, I fear, for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon came Tom and Charles Pepys by my sending for, and received of me 40*l.* in part towards their 70*l.* legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Up to the office, where we sat, and I had some high words with Sir W. Batten about canvas, wherein I opposed him and all his experience, about seams in the middle, and the profit of having many breadths and narrow, which I opposed to good purpose, to the rejecting of the whole business. At noon home to dinner, and thence took my wife by coach, and she to my Lady Sandwich. I to Tom Trice, to



discourse about my father's giving over his administration to my brother, and thence to Sir R. Bernard, and there received 19*l.* in money, and took up my father's bond of 21*l.*, that is 40*l.*, in part of Piggot's 209*l.* due to us, which 40*l.* he pays for 7 roods of meadow in Port Holme. Thence to my wife, and carried her to the Old Bayly, and there we were led to the Quest House, by the church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the buriall of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there was of them, but very good service and great company the whole was. And so anon to church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To the office, where busy till my brains ready to drop with variety of business, and vexed for all that to see the service like to suffer by other people's neglect. Vexed also at a letter from my father with two troublesome ones enclosed from Cave and Noble, so that I know not what to do therein. But to comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me 20*l.* he promised me for my assistance to him about his masts. This morning my Taylor brought me a very tall mayde to be my cook-mayde; she asked 5*l.*, but my wife offered her but 3*l.* 10*s.*—whether she will take it or no I know not till to-morrow, but I am afeard she will be over high for us, she having last been a chamber mayde, and holds up her head, as my little girle Su observed.

28th. To Mr. Cutler's, where I heard Sir W. Rider was, and dined with them. Good discourse, Sir W.

Rider especially much fearing the issue of a Dutch war, wherein I very highly commend him. Thence home, and at the office a while, and then with Mr. Deane to a second lesson upon my Shipwrightry, wherein I go on with great pleasure. But, Lord ! to see how my very going to the 'Change, and being without my gowne, presently brought me wind and pain, till I came home and was well again ; but I am come to such a pass that I shall not know what to do with myself, but I am apt to think that it is only my legs that I take cold in from my having so long worn a gowne constantly.

29th (Whitsunday. King's Birth and Restauration day). Up, and having received a letter from Mr. Coventry, I walked to St. James's, and there he and I did long discourse together of the business of the office, and the warr with the Dutch ; and he seemed to argue mightily with the little reason that there is for all this. For first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us : that of the East Indys, for their not delivering of Poleron,<sup>1</sup> it is not yet known whether they have failed or no ; that of their hindering the Leopard cannot amount to above 3,000*l.* if true ; that of the Guinny Company, all they had done us did not amount to above 2 or 300*l.* he told me truly ; and that now, from what Holmes, without any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set us much in debt to them ; and he believes that Holmes will have

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<sup>1</sup> One of the Banda Islands, which had acknowledged James I. as its sovereign, but was afterwards forcibly seized by the Dutch.

been so puffed up with this, that he by this time hath been enforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deale more wrong to them. He do, as to the effect of the warr, tell me clearly that it is not any skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them, of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speake with me about was, to know whether I understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleete; saying, that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to it; but thinking that twelve ships is not a fleete fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go, or not. He spoke this with very great respect to my Lord, though methinks it is strange they should not understand one another better at this time than to need another's mediation. To the King's closett, whither by and by the King came, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A Bishopp preached, but he speaking too low for me to hear behind the King's closett, I went forth and discoursed with Coll. Reames, who seems a very willing man to be informed in his business of canvas, which he is undertaking to strike in with us to serve the Navy. By and by my Lord Sandwich came forth, and called me to him: and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do; and I hope I shall become

necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence after sermon among the ladies in the Queene's side; where I saw Mrs. Stewart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy<sup>1</sup> home to dinner; where extraordinary cheer. And after dinner up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective upon the wall in his garden, and the springs rising up with the perspective in the little closett; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the best cabinet-work I ever saw; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool; his furniture of all sorts; his bath at the top of his house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking; do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

30th. Lay long, the bells ringing it being holiday, and then up and all the day long in my study at home studying of shipmaking with great content till the evening, and then came Mr. Howe and sat and supped with me. He is a little conceited, but will make a discreet man.

31st. Up, and called upon Mr. Hollyard, with whom I advised and shall fall upon some course of doing something for my disease of the wind, which grows upon me every day more and more. To my

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn mentions Mr. Povy's house in Lincoln's Inn.

Lord, and to discourse about his going to sea, and the message I had from Mr. Coventry to him. He wonders, as he well may, that this course should be taken, and he every day with the Duke, who, nevertheless, seems most friendly to him, who hath not yet spoke one word to my Lord of his desire to have him go to sea. My Lord do tell me clearly that were it not that he, as all other men that were of the Parliament side, are obnoxious to reproach, and so is forced to bear what otherwise he would not, he would never suffer every thing to be done in the Navy, and he never be consulted; and it seems, in the naming of all these commanders for this fleete, he hath never been asked one question. But we concluded it wholly inconsistent with his honour not to go with this fleete, nor with the reputation which the world hath of his interest at Court; and so he did give me commission to tell Mr. Coventry that he is most willing to receive any commands from the Duke in this fleete, were it less than it is, and that particularly in this service. With this message I parted, and by coach to the office, where I found Mr. Coventry, and told him this. Methinks, I confess, he did not seem so pleased with it as I expected, or at least could have wished, and asked me whether I had told my Lord that the Duke do not expect his going, which I told him I had. But now whether he means really that the Duke, as he told me the other day, do think the Fleete too small for him to take or that he would not have him go, I swear I cannot tell. To St. James's, to one Lady

Poultny's,<sup>1</sup> where I found my Lord, I doubt, at some vain pleasure or other. Home, and then to my monthly accounts, where to my great comfort I find myself better than I was the last month, and come to 930*l*. I was told to-day, that upon Sunday night last, being the King's birth-day, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings (over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings) dancing with fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

June 1st. Mr. Hollyard came to me, and to my great sorrow, after his great assuring me that I could not possibly have the stone again, he tells me that he do verily fear that I have it again, and has brought me something to dissolve it, which do make me very much troubled, and pray to God to ease me. He gone, I down by water to Woolwich and Deptford to look after the dispatch of the ships, all the way reading Mr. Spencer's *Book of Prodigys*, which is most ingeniously writ, both for matter and style.<sup>2</sup> Southwell<sup>3</sup> (Sir W. Pen's friend) tells me the very sad newes of my Lord Teviott's and nineteen more commission officers being killed at Tangier by the Moores,<sup>4</sup> by an ambush of the

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<sup>1</sup> This lady was Grace, youngest daughter of Sir John Corbet, of Stoke, Salop, who had married Sir William Poulteney, of Mesterton, in Leicestershire, who was knighted at Whitehall, 4th June, 1660. See more about him, 10th Jan., 1659-60, note.

<sup>2</sup> John Spencer, D.D., who died in 1695, was also the author of a celebrated work, "*De Legibus Hebræorum*." His "*Discourse concerning Prodigies*" first appeared in 1663; the 2nd edition, of 1665, contains likewise a "*Discourse concerning Vulgar Prophecies*."

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Southwell.

<sup>4</sup> The particulars of the loss at Tangier are given in "*The Intelligencer*," 6th June, 1664.

enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines ; which is very sad, and, he says, afflicts the King much. My wife and I to the King's house, and saw "The Silent Woman ;"<sup>1</sup> but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be, or else I am now-a-days out of humour. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hayle, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise ; and all the house in a disorder.<sup>2</sup>

2nd. To St. James's, and there dined with Mr. Coventry very finely, and so over the Parke to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men, but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or, at least, out of mind by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet knowne. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerrie, and several others are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and half out of the towne, to cut down a wood in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spyes ; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for any body's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapt, he and all his officers, and about 200 men, as they say ; there being left now in

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<sup>1</sup> "Epicene, or the Silent Woman," by Ben Jonson. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The Blackfriars Theatre was entirely roofed over, and had a pit, instead of a mere enclosed yard ; whilst the stage portion alone of the public play-houses was protected from the weather. The house was lighted by a cupola.



the garrison but four captains. This happened the 3d of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there ; but at his going out in the morning he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moores, when Fines<sup>1</sup> made his sally out."

3rd. We sat at the office extraordinary upon the business of our stores, but, Lord ! what a pitiful account the Surveyor makes of it grieves my heart. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon, where a sad consideration to see things of so great weight managed in so confused a manner as it is, so as I would not have the buying of an acre of land bought by ; the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, for ought I see, being the only two that do anything like men ; Prince Rupert do nothing but swear and laugh a little, with an oath or two.

4th. I went forth with J. Noble, who tells me that he will secure us against Cave, that though he knows, and can prove it, yet nobody else can prove it, to be Tom's child ; that the bond was made by one Hudson, a scrivener, next to the Fountaine taverne, in the Old Bayly ; that the children were born, and christened, and entered in the parish-book of St. Sepulchre's, by the name of Anne and Elizabeth Taylor ; and he will give us security against Cave if we pay him

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<sup>1</sup> Major Fiennes, whose regiment formed part of the garrison at Tangier.

the money. To the Duke, and was with him giving him an account how matters go, and of the necessity there is of a power to presse seamen, without which we cannot really raise men for this fleete of twelve sayle, besides that it will assert the King's power of pressing, which at present is somewhat doubted, and will make the Dutch believe that we are in earnest. To the Committee for Tangier all afternoon, where still the same confused doings, and my Lord FitzHarding now added to the Committee, which will signify much. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten (what a sad fellow he is !) told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwicke,<sup>1</sup> did walk up and down sweating with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat ; and that Prince Rupert being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten, do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King, that Batten had a mind to betray them to-day, and that the napkin was a signal ; "but, by God," says he, "if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him." He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lime for the Parliament, did through his stubborn sort of valour defend it the most opiniastrement that ever any man did any thing ; and

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<sup>1</sup> Rich, Earl of Warwick, Admiral for the Parliament. (M. B.)

yet never was the man that ever made any attaque by land or sea, but rather avoyded it on all, even fair occasions. On the other side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attaquar in the world for personal courage ; and yet, in the defending of Bristol, no man ever did anything worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviott, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from a mean man in few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would ; and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and no judgment in a fight. He tells me above all of the Duke of York, that he is more himself and more of judgment is at hand in him in the middle of a desperate service, than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirke, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies ; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him ; “ For,” says he, “ the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them ; ” and though he is a man naturally martiall to the highest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one

word of himself or service of his owne, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxime that a Hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is, that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civill, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By water to Deptford, and there found our Trinity Brethren come from their election to church, where Dr. Britton made, methought, an indifferent sermon touching the decency that we ought to observe in God's house. Thence by barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. It seems they have with much ado carried it for Sir G. Carteret against Captain Harrison, poor man, who by succession ought to have been it, and most hands were for him, but only they were forced to fright the younger Brethren by requiring them to set their hands (which is an ill course) and then Sir G. Carteret carried it. Here were at dinner my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner, and good company. Mr. Prin also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all; but in discourse with the Dr. he did declare himself that he ever was, and has expressed himself in all his books for mixt communion against the Presbyterian examination. Thence

after dinner by water, my Lord Sandwich and all of us Tangier men where at the Committee busy till night with great confusion, and then by coach home, with this content however that I find myself every day become more and more known, and shall one day hope to have benefit by it.

8th. All day before dinner with Creed talking of many things, among others, of my Lord's going so often to Chelsy, and he do tell me that his daughters do perceive all, and do hate the place, and the young woman, Mrs. Betty Becke; for my Lord who sent them thither only for a disguise for his going thither will come under pretence to see them, and pack them out of doors to the Parke, and stay behind with her; but now the young ladies are gone to their mother to Kensington. After dinner till 10 at night in my study writing of my old broken office notes in shorthand all in one book, till my eyes did ake ready to drop out.

10th. By water to White Hall, and there to a Committee of Tangier, and had occasion to see how my Lord Ashworth deports himself, which is very fine indeed, and it joys my heart to see that there is any body looks so near into the King's business as I perceive he do in this business of my Lord Peterborough's accounts. Thence into the Parke, and met and walked with Captain Silas Taylor, my old acquaintance while I was of the Exchequer, and Dr. Whore, talking of musique and particularly of Mr. Berkenshaw's way, which Taylor magnifies mightily, and perhaps but what

it deserves, but not so easily to be understood as he and others make of it.

11th. With my wife only to take the ayre, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bowe and Old Ford; and thence to Hackney. There light, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries; and so with good refreshment home.

12th (Lord's day). Troubled in my mind about the knavery and neglect of Captain Fudge and Taylor, who were to have had their ship for Tangier ready for Thursday last, and now the men by mistake are come on board, and not any master or man or boy of the ship's company on board with them when we came by her side this afternoon, and also I received a letter from Mr. Coventry this day in complaint of it.

13th. Up at 5 o'clock, and with Captain Taylor on board her at Deptford, and found all out of order, only the soldiers civil. I rated at Captain Taylor, whom, contrary to my expectation, I found a lying and a very stupid blundering fellow, good for nothing, and yet we talk of him in the Navy as if he had been an excellent officer, but I find him a lying knave, and of no judgment or dispatch at all. After finding the condition of the ship, no master, not above four men, and many ships' provisions, sayls, and other things wanting, I went back and called upon Fudge, whom I found like a lying rogue unready to go on board, but I did so jeer him that I made him get everything ready, and left Taylor and H. Russell to quicken him, and so away and by water on to White Hall, where I

met his Royal Highnesse at a Tangier Committee about this very thing, and did there satisfy him how things are, at which all was pacified without any trouble, and I hope may end well, but I confess I am at a real trouble for fear the rogue should not do his work, and I come to shame and losse of the money I did hope justly to have got by it. Thence walked with Mr. Coventry to St. James's, and there spent the whole morning reading of some old Navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the Navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. Anon to dinner, after dinner to discourse of the business of the Dutch warr, wherein he tells me the Dutch do in every particular, which are but few and small things that we can demand of them, whatever cry we unjustly make, do seem to offer at an accommodation, for they do owne that it is not for their profit to have warr with England. We did also talk of a History of the Navy of England, how fit it were to be writ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the History of the late Dutch warr, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if well done, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

14th. After dinner by coach to Kensington. In the way overtaking Mr. Laxton, the apothecary, with his wife and daughters, very fine young lasses, in a



coach; and so both of us to my Lady Sandwich, who hath lain this fortnight here at Deane Hodges's.<sup>1</sup> Much company came hither to-day, my Lady Carteret, &c., Sir William Wheeler and his lady, and, above all, Mr. Becke, of Chelsy, and wife and daughter, my Lord's mistresse, and one that hath not one good feature in her face, and yet is a fine lady, of a fine taille, and very well carriaged, and mighty discreet. I took all the occasion I could to discourse with the young ladies in her company to give occasion to her to talk, which now and then she did, and that mighty finely, and is, I perceive, a woman of such an ayre, as I wonder the less at my Lord's favour to her, and I dare warrant him she hath brains enough to entangle him. Two or three hours we were in her company, going into Sir H. Finche's<sup>2</sup> garden, and seeing the fountayne, and singing there with the ladies, and a mighty fine cool place it is, with a great laver of water in the middle and the bravest place for musique I ever heard. After much mirthe, discoursing to the ladies in defence of the city against the country or court, and giving them occasion to invite themselves to-morrow to me to dinner, to my venison pasty, I got their mother's

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hodges, vicar of Kensington, and rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill. He had been, in September, 1661, preferred to the Deanery of Hereford, which he held with his two livings till his death, in 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Kensington Palace was the seat of Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, and was sold by his son to King William, who greatly improved it. The gardens were originally only twenty-six acres. Queen Anne added thirty acres; but the principal addition was made by Queen Caroline, who took in near three hundred acres from Hyde Park. The Serpentine was formed between the years 1730-33. (M. B.)

leave, and so good night, very well pleased with my day's work, and above all, that I have seen my Lord's mistresse.

15th. By appointment with Captain Witham, the Captain that brought the newes of the disaster at Tangier, where my Lord Teviott was slain. I got him to tell me the whole story of my Lord Teviott's misfortune; for he was upon the guard with his horse near the towne, when at a distance he saw the enemy appear upon a hill, a mile and a half off, and made up to them, and with much ado escaped himself; but what became of my Lord he neither knows nor thinks that any body but the enemy can tell. Our losse was about four hundred. But he tells me that the greater wonder is that my Lord Teviott met no sooner with such a disaster; for every day he did commit himself to more probable danger than this, for now he had the assurance of all his scouts that there was no enemy thereabouts; whereas he used every day to go out with two or three with him, to make his discoveries, in greater danger, and yet the man that could not endure to have anybody else to go a step out of order to endanger himself. He concludes him to be the man of the hardest fate to lose so much honour at one blow that ever was. His relation being done he parted; and so I home to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by and by the three young ladies:<sup>1</sup> and very merry

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich's daughters.

we were with our pasty, very well baked ; and a good dish of roasted chickens ; pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards : and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich ; and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden,<sup>1</sup> and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed ;<sup>2</sup> and so took boat again, and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten of the clock ; and such a troublesome passage, in regard of my Lady Paulina's fearfulness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach ; but it being so late, I doubted what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street, I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy ; and myself and Creed in the coach home with them. But, Lord ! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way ; and indeed at this time of the night it was no safe thing to go that road ; so that I was even afraid myself, though I appeared otherwise.<sup>3</sup> We came safe, however, to their house ; where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being

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<sup>1</sup> The Cherry Garden was at Rotherhithe.

<sup>2</sup> To avoid the danger of what was called "shooting the bridge." See *ante*, 8th Aug., 1662.

<sup>3</sup> We have here a curious picture of the dreadful state of the streets in London in 1664. No improvement of what they were a century before, when they were described as "very foul, full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious" (Knight's "London," vol. i. p. 26), appears to have taken place. The alarm of Lady Paulina and Pepys at night was not surprising.

in bed. So put them into doors ; and leaving them with the mayds, bade them good night, and then into the towne,<sup>1</sup> Creed and I, it being about twelve o'clock and past ; and to several houses, inns, but could get no lodging, all being in bed. At the last house, at last, we found some people drinking and roaring ; and there got in, and after drinking, got an ill bed, where

16th. I lay in my drawers and stockings and waste-coate till five of the clock, and so up ; and being well pleased with our frolique, walked to Knightsbridge, and there eat a messe of creame, and so to St. James's, and so I to White Hall, and took coach, and found my wife well got home last night, and now in bed. So to the 'Change. The talke upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his owne ship, of the plague, at Cales : that the Holland Embassador here do endeavour to sweeten us with fair words ; and things likely to be peaceable. Home after I had spoke with my cozen Richard Pepys upon the 'Change, about supplying us with bewpers<sup>2</sup> from Norwich, which I should be glad of, if cheap.

17th. By water to Woolwich to make a discovery of a cheate providing for us in the working of some of our own ground Tows into new cordage, to be sold to us for Riga cordage. So to the Dockyarde and to

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<sup>1</sup> Kensington.

<sup>2</sup> This word is used by Spenser for companions or equals. Mr. Goddard Johnson, of Norwich, suggests that pieces of cloth, each containing twenty-five yards, were known by the name of *beaupers* ; but the word has fallen into disuse. It appears, from one of the Pepys papers, of a later date, that bewpers were used as a material for flags.

Deptford by water, and there very long informing myself in the business of flags and bewpers and other things, and so home late, being weary, and full of good information to-day, but I perceive the corruptions of the Navy are of so many kinds that it is endless to look after them, especially while such a one as Sir W. Batten discourages every man that is honest.

18th. From morning till 11 at night at my office very busy, setting many businesses in order to my great trouble, but great content in the end. Strange to see how pert Sir W. Pen is to-day newly come from Portsmouth with his head full of great reports of his service and the state of the ships there.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich, are to be Generalls; and soon after is to follow them "Vieux Pen;" and so the Duke called him in mirthe Old Pen.<sup>1</sup> They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting-out ships was only to defend their fishing-trade, and to stay near home, not to annoy the King's subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships: which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company's ships, and then they will

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<sup>1</sup> He was only forty-two years of age.

not care for us. Meeting Mr. Pickering, he tells me how my Lady last weeke went to see Mrs. Becke, the mother; and by and by the daughter came in, but that my Lady do say herself, as he says, that she knew not for what reason, for she never knew they had a daughter, which I do not believe. She was troubled, and her heart did rise as soon as she appeared, and seems the most ugly woman that ever she saw. This if true were strange, but I believe it is not. Thence to my Lord's lodgings; and were merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last weeke, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale,<sup>1</sup> after he had received a box on the eare by her brother<sup>2</sup> (who was there a sentinel, in behalf of some courtier,) at the door; but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court, and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband: and so all is past. It seems Sir H. Bennet did look after her. My Lady very pleasant. After dinner came in Sir Thomas Crew and Mr. Sidney<sup>3</sup> lately come from France, who is growne a little, and a pretty youth he is; but not so improved as they did give him out

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Neale.

<sup>2</sup> She had four brothers.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sidney Montagu. (M. B.)



to be, but like a child still. But yet I can perceive he hath good parts and good inclinations.

21st. After dinner to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier, where the Duke of York, I perceive, do attend the business very well, much better than any man there or most of them, and my mind eased of some trouble I lay under for fear of his thinking ill of me from the bad successe in the setting forth of the crew men to Tangier. Meeting Mr. Moore, I perceive by him my Lord's business of his family and estate goes very ill, and runs in debt mightily. I would to God I were clear of it, both as to my owne money and the bond of 1,000*l.*, which I stand debtor for him in, to my cozen Thomas Pepys.

22nd. At noon to the 'Change and Coffee-house, where great talke of the Dutch preparing of sixty sayle of ships. The plague grows mightily among them, both at sea and land. Thence home, there coming to me my Lord Peterborough's Solicitor with a letter from him to desire present dispatch in his business and promises me 50*l.*, which is good newes, and I hope to do his business readily for him.

23rd. My cozen, Thomas Pepys, was with me yesterday and I took occasion to speak to him about the bond I stand bound for my Lord Sandwich to him in 1,000*l.* I did very plainly, obliging him to secrecy, tell him how the matter stands. I perceive by Mr. Moore to-day that he has been with my Lord, and my Lord how he takes it I know not, but he is looking after other security and I am mightily glad of it. W.



Howe was with me this afternoon, to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be soon ; for it seems the King and both the Queenes intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge ; for Mr. Moore tells me to-day that he is 10,000*l.* in debt : and this will, with many other things that daily will grow upon him (while he minds his pleasure as he do), set him further backward.

24th. Out with Captain Witham in several places to look for oats for Tangier, and among other places to the City granary,<sup>1</sup> where it seems every company have their granary and obliged to keep such a quantity of corne always there or at a time of scarcity to issue so much at so much a bushell : and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes, a thing I never saw before. After dinner to White Hall ; and Mr. Pierce showed me the Queene's bed-chamber, and her closett, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion ; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with

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<sup>1</sup> From the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII., or perhaps earlier, it was the custom of the City of London to provide against scarcity, by requiring each of the chartered Companies to keep in store a certain quantity of corn, which was to be renewed from time to time, and when required for that purpose, produced in the market for sale, at such times and prices, and in such quantities, as the Lord Mayor or Common Council should direct. See the report of a case in the Court of Chancery, "*Attorney-General v. Haberdashers' Company.*" Mylne and Keen's "*Reports,*" vol. i. p. 420.

him to the Parke, and there met the Queene coming from Chappell, with her Mayds of Honour, all in silver-lace gowns again; which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closett: where such variety of pictures, and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them; which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. At my Lord Sandwich's; where his little daughter, my Lady Katharine<sup>†</sup> was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheeke looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is, with a scarr in her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering. I went home and with Creed called at several churches, which, God knows, are supplied with very young men, and the churches very empty; so home and at our owne church looked in, and there heard one preach whom Sir W. Pen brought, which he desired us yesterday to hear, that had been his chaplin in Ireland, a very silly fellow. After dinner a frolique took us, we would go this afternoon to the Hope; so my wife dressed herself, and, with good victuals and drink, we took boat presently and the tide with us got down, but it was night, and the tide spent by the time we got

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<sup>†</sup> She married, first, Nicholas, son and heir of Sir N. Bacon, K.B.; and secondly, the Rev. Mr. Gardeman; and lived to be 96, dying 1757.

to Gravesend ; so there we stopped, but went not on shore, only Creed, to get some cherries,<sup>1</sup> and send a letter to the Hope, where the Fleete lies. And so, it being rainy, and thundering mightily, and lightning, we returned with great pleasure home, about twelve o'clock, Creed telling pretty stories in the boat. He lay with me all night.

27th. To Paul's Church yarde, and there saw Sir Harry Spillman's book,<sup>2</sup> and I bespoke it and others.

28th. This day put on a half shirt first this summer, it being very hot ; and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afeard I shall catch cold, while all the world is ready to melt away. To the Mitre and there comes Dr. Burnett to us, and there I began to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house : and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr. Shepley tells me how my brave dogg I did give him, going out betimes one morning to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other doggs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing. To Westminster to see Deane Honiwood,<sup>3</sup> whom I had not

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<sup>1</sup> It is said that Henry VIII. introduced the Kentish cherries. A writer at the end of the sixteenth century mentions cherries at 20s. a pound. — BUCKLE, *Common Place Book*, vol. ii. p. 395. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> See July 7th. "Glossarium Archæologicum," of which only the first part, to the letter L, was published by himself, 1626; a second volume was collected from his papers, and published by Sir William Dugdale after the Restoration. Sir Henry Spellman died 1641, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> See 13th Jan., 1661-2.

visited a great while. He is a good-natured, but a very weake man, yet a Deane, and a man in great esteem. Thence walked to my Lord Sandwich's and there dined. My Lady<sup>1</sup> and I sat two hours alone, talking of the condition of her family's being greatly in debt, and many children now coming up to provide for. I did give her my sense very plain of it, which she took well and carried further than myself, to the bemoaning their condition, and remembering how finely things were ordered about six years ago, when I lived there and my Lord at sea every year.

30th. By water to Woolwich and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone, save a man that had a cudgell in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yarde, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Then to the making up my month's accounts and find myself still a gainer and rose to 95*l.*, for which God be blessed. I end the month with my mind full of business and some sorrow that I have not exactly performed all my vowes, though my not doing is not my fault, and shall be made good out of my first leisure. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch warr go on or no. The Fleete ready in the Hope, of twelve sayle. The King and Queenes go on board, they say, on Saturday next. Young children of my

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<sup>1</sup> Sandwich.

Lord Sandwich gone with their mayds from my mother's, which troubles me, it being, I hear from Mr. Shepley, with great discontent, saying, that though they buy good meate, yet can never have it before it stinks, which I am ashamed of.

July 1st. By and by comes Dr. Burnett, who did write me down some direction<sup>r</sup> what to do, but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece, with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me. So to my office, busy till the evening, and then by agreement came Mr. Hill and Andrews and one Cheswicke, a master who plays very well upon the Spinette, and we sat singing Psalms till 9 at night, and so broke up with great pleasure, and very good company it is, and I hope I shall now and then have their company. They being gone, I to my office

<sup>r</sup> Dr. Burnett's advice to mee.

The Originall is fyled among my letters.

Take of y<sup>e</sup> Rootes of Marsh-Mallows foure ounces, of Cumfry, of Liquorish, of each two ounces, of y<sup>e</sup> fflowes of St. John's Wort two Handfull, of y<sup>e</sup> Leaves of Plantan, of Alehoofe, of each three handfulls, of Selfeheale, of Red Roses, of each one Handfull, of Cynament, of Nutmegg, of each halfe an ounce. Beate them well, then poure upon them one Quart of old Rhenish wine, and about Six houres after strayne it and clarify it with y<sup>e</sup> white of an Egge, and with a sufficient quantity of sugar, boyle it to y<sup>e</sup> consistence of a Syrrup and reserve it for use.

Dissolve one spoonfull of this Syrrup in every draught of Ale or beere you drink.

Morning and evening swallow y<sup>e</sup> quantity of an hazle-nutt of Cyprus Terebintine.

If you are bound or have a fit of y<sup>e</sup> Stone eate an ounce of Cassia new drawne, from y<sup>e</sup> poynt of a knife.

Old Canary or Malaga wine you may drinke to three or four glasses, but noe new wine, and what wine you drinke, lett it bee at meales.

till towards twelve o'clock. Upon the 'Change, this day, I saw how uncertain the temper of the people is, that, from our discharging of about 200 that lay idle, having nothing to do, upon some of our ships, which were ordered to be fitted for service, and their works are now done, the towne do talk that the King discharges all his men, 200 yesterday and 800 to-day, and that now he hath got 100,000*l.* in his hand, he values not a Dutch warr. But I undeceived a great many, telling them how it is.

2nd. Home to my venison pasty, but only Mr. Alsopp and Mr. Lanyon, whom I invited last night. After dinner sat close to discourse about our business of the victualling of the garrison of Tangier, taking their prices of all provisions, and I do hope to order it so that they and I also may get something by it, which do much please me, for I hope I may get nobly and honestly with profit to the King. They being gone came Sir W. Warren, and he and I discoursed long about the business of masts, and then in the evening to the office, where late writing letters, and then home to look over some Brampton papers, which I am under an oathe to dispatch before I spend one half houre in any pleasure or go to bed before 12 o'clock, to which, by the grace of God, I will be true.

3rd (Lord's day). At noon to dinner, where the remains of yesterday's venison and a couple of brave green geese, which we are fain to eat alone, because they will not keepe, which troubled us. Spent the

evening walking with my wife talking, and it thundering and lightning all the evening, and this yeare have had the most thunder and lightning they say of any in man's memory, and so it is, it seems, in France and everywhere else.

4th. At noon to my Lord Crew's, and there dined and very much made of by him. He offered me the selling of some land of his in Cambridgeshire, a purchase of about 1,000*l*. and if I can compass it I will. After dinner I walked homeward, doing business by the way, and at home found my wife of her owne accord to have lain out 25*s*. upon a pair of pendants for her eares, which did vex me and brought both me and her to very high and very foule words from her to me, such as trouble me to think she should have in her mouth, and reflecting upon our old differences, which I hate to have remembred. I vowed to breake them, or that she should go and get what she could for them again. I went with that resolution out of doors ; the poor wretch afterwards in a little while did send out to change them for her money again. I followed Besse her messenger at the 'Change, and there did consult and sent her back ; I would not have them changed, being satisfied that she yielded. So went home, and friends again as to that business ; but the words I could not get out of my mind. This day the King and the Queenes went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleete, going forth in the Hope.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Their Majesties were treated at Tilbury Hope by the Earl of Sandwich, returning the same day, abundantly satisfied with the dutiful respects of that



6th. Up very betimes, and my wife also, and got us ready ; and about eight o'clock, having got some bottles of wine and beer and neat's tongues, we went to our barge at the Tower, where Mr. Pierce and his wife, and a kinswoman and his sister, and Mrs. Clerke and her sister and cozen were to expect us ; and so set out for the Hope, all the way down playing at cards and other sports, spending our time pretty merry. Come to the Hope about one and there shewed them all the ships, and had a collacion of anchovies, gammon, &c., and after an houre's stay or more, embarked again for home ; and so to cards and other sports till we came to Greenwich, and there Mrs. Clerke and my wife and I on shore to an ale-house, and so to the barge again, having shown them the King's pleasure boat ; and so home to the Bridge, bringing night home with us ; so to the Tower Wharf and home, being very well pleased to-day with the company, especially Mrs. Pierce, who continues her complexion as well as ever and hath, at this day, I think, the best complexion that ever I saw on any woman, young or old, or child either, all days of my life. Also Mrs. Clerke's kinswoman sings very prettily, but is very confident in it ; Mrs. Clerke herself witty, but spoils all in being so conceited and making so great a flutter with a few fine clothes and some bad tawdry things worne with them. But the charge of the barge lies heavy upon me, which troubles me, but

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honourable person, and with the excellent condition of all matters committed to his charge. — *The Newes*, 7th July, 1664.

it is but once and I may make Pierce do me some courtesy as great. The reason of Dr. Clerke's not being here was the King's being sicke last night and let blood, and so he durst not come away to-day.

7th. To White Hall, and there found the Duke and twenty more reading their commission (of which I am, and was also sent to, to come) for the Royall Fishery, which is very large, and a very serious charter it is; but the company generally so ill fitted for so serious a worke that I do much fear it will come to little. That being done, and not being able to do anything for lacke of an oathe for the Governor and Assistants to take, we rose. Then our Committee for the Tangier victualling met and did a little, and so up, and I and Mr. Coventry walked in the garden, talking of the business of our masts, and thence to the New Exchange to drink some creame, but missed it and so home, calling by the way for my new bookes, viz., Sir H. Spillman's "Whole Glossary," "Scapula's Lexicon," and Shakespeare's plays, which I have got money out of my stationer's bills to pay for. The King is pretty well to-day, though let blood the night before yesterday.

8th. Called out by my Lord Peterborough's gentleman to Mr. Povy's to discourse about getting of his money, wherein I am concerned in hopes of the 50%. my Lord has promised me, but I dare not reckon myself sure of it till I have it, for these Lords are hard to be trusted. So to Paul's Churchyarde about my books, and to the binder's and directed the doing of

my Chaucer, though they were not full neate enough for me, but pretty well it is ; and thence to the clasp-maker's to have it clasped and bossed. So to the 'Change and home to dinner, and so to my office till 5 o'clock, and then came Mr. Hill and Andrews, and we sung an houre or two.

9th. To a Committee for Fishing ; but the first thing was swearing to be true to the Company, and we were all sworne ; but a great dispute we had, which, methought, is very ominous to the Company ; some, that we should swear to be true to the best of our power, and others to the best of our understanding ; and carried in the last, though in that we are the least able to serve the Company, because we would not be obliged to attend the business when we can, but when we list. This consideration did not please me, but it was voted and so went. So home, by the way calling for my Chaucer and other books, and that is well done to my mind, which pleased me well.

10th (Lord's day). Up and by water, towards noon, to Somersett House, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's, and there dined with my Lady and the children. After dinner took our leaves and my wife her's, in order to her going to the country to-morrow. Here my Lady showed us my Lady Castlemaine's <sup>1</sup> picture, finely done ; given my Lord ; and a most beautiful picture it is. Thence with my Lady Jemimah and

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<sup>1</sup> There is a beautiful portrait of Lady Castlemaine in the dining-room at Hinchinbroke.

Mr. Sidney to St. Gyles's Church, and there heard a long, poore sermon. Thence set them down and in their coach to Kate Joyce's christening, where much company and good service of sweetmeates ; and, after an houre's stay, left them, and in my Lord's coach — his noble, rich coach — home.

11th. Betimes up in the morning, and, getting ready, we by coach to Holborne, where, at nine o'clock, they set out, and I and my man Will on horseback, by my wife, to Barnett ; a very pleasant day ; and there dined with her company, which was very good ; a pretty gentlewoman with her, that goes but to Huntingdon, and a neighbour to us in towne. Here we staid two hours and then parted for altogether, and my poore wife I shall soon want I am sure. Thence I and Will to see the Wells,<sup>1</sup> half a mile off, and there I drank three glasses, and went and walked and came back and drunk two more ; the woman would have had me drink three more, but I could not, and so we rode home, round by Kingsland, Hackney, and Mile End till we were quite weary ; and, not being very well, I betimes to bed. About eleven o'clock, knowing what money I have in the house and hearing a noyse, I begun to sweat worse and worse, till I melted almost to water. I rung, and could not in half an houre make either of the wenches hear me, and this made me fear the more, lest they might be gag'd ; and then I begun to think that there was some

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<sup>1</sup> The Mineral Spring at East Barnet.

design in a stone being flung at the window over our stayres this evening, by which the thiefes meant to try what looking there would be after them and know our company. These thoughts and fears I had, and do hence apprehend the fears of all rich men that are covetous and have much money by them. At last Jane rose, and then I understand it was only the dogg wants a lodging and so made a noyse.

12th. Called up by my Lord Peterborough's gentleman about getting his Lord's money to-day of Mr. Povy, wherein I took such order, that it was paid, and I had my 50*l.* brought me, which comforts my heart. Dined alone ; sad for want of company and not being very well, and know not how to eat alone. By and by comes Mr. Coventry, and after a little stay he and I down to Blackwall, he having a mind to see the yarde, which we did, and fine storehouses there are and good docks, but of no great profit to him that oweth<sup>1</sup> them for ought we saw.

14th. I rose a little after four o'clock, and abroad. Walked to my Lord's, and nobody up, but the porter rose out of bed to me : so I back again to Fleete Streete, and there bought a little book of law ; and thence, hearing a psalm sung, I went into St. Dunstan's, and there heard prayers read, which, it seems, is done there every morning at six o'clock ; a thing I never did do at a chappell, but the College Chappell,

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<sup>1</sup> For "owneth." This sense is very common in Shakespeare. So in the authorized version of the Bible. "So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that *oweth* this girdle." Acts xxi. 11. (M. B.)

in all my life. Thence to my Lord's again, and my Lord being up was sent for up, and he and I alone. He did begin with a most solemn profession of the same confidence in and love for me that he ever had, and then told me what a misfortune was fallen upon me and him : in me, by a displeasure which my Lord Chancellor did show to him last night against me, in the highest and most passionate manner that ever any man did speak, even to the not hearing of any thing to be said to him : but he told me, that he did say all that could be said for a man as to my faithfulness and duty to his Lordship, and did me the greatest right imaginable. And what should the business be, but that I should be forward to have the trees in Clarendon Park<sup>1</sup> marked and cut down, which he, it seems, hath bought of my Lord Albemarle ; when, God knows ! I am the most innocent man in the world in it, and did nothing of myself, nor knew of his concernment therein, but barely obeyed my Lord Treasurer's warrant for the doing thereof. And said that I did most ungentlemanlike with him, and had justified the rogues in cutting down a tree of his ; and that I had sent the veriest Fanatique that is in England to mark them, on purpose to nose him. All

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<sup>1</sup> Near Salisbury, granted by Edward VI. to Sir W. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, for two lives, which term ended in 1601, when it reverted to the Crown, and was conferred on the Duke of Albemarle, whose family, as I imagine, got back the estate after Lord Clarendon's fall ; for, according to Britton, Clarendon Park was alienated by Christopher, second Duke of Albemarle, to the Earl of Bath, from whom it passed, by purchase, to Mr. Bathurst, the ancestor of the present possessor.

which, I did assure my Lord, was most properly false, and nothing like it true ; and told my Lord the whole passage. My Lord do seem most nearly affected ; he is partly, I believe, for me, and partly for himself. So he advised me to wait presently upon my Lord, and clear myself in the most perfect manner I could, with all submission and assurance that I am his creature both in this and all other things ; and that I do owe that all I have, is derived through my Lord Sandwich from his Lordship. So, full of horror, I went, and found him busy in tryals of law in his great room ; and it being Sitting-day, durst not stay, but went to my Lord and told him so : whereupon he directed me to take him after dinner ; and so away I home, leaving my Lord mightily concerned for me. So I to my Lord Chancellor's ; and there coming out after dinner I accosted him, telling him that I was the unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high displeasure, and come to desire him to give me leave to make myself better understood to his Lordship, assuring him of my duty and service. He answered me very pleasingly, that he was confident upon the score of my Lord Sandwich's character of me, but that he had reason to think what he did, and desired me to call upon him some evening : I named to-night, and he accepted of it. To my Lord Chancellor's, and there heard several tryals, wherein I perceive my Lord is a most able and ready man. After all done, he himself called, "Come, Mr. Pepys, you and I will take a turn in the garden." So he was led down stairs, having the goute, and there



walked with me, I think, above an houre, talking most friendly, yet cunningly. I told him clearly how things were ; how ignorant I was of his Lordship's concernment in it ; how I did not do nor say one word singly, but what was done was the act of the whole Board. He told me by name that he was more angry with Sir G. Carteret than with me, and also with the whole body of the Board. But thinking who it was of the Board that did know him least, he did place his fear upon me ; but he finds that he is indebted to none of his friends there. I think I did thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him ; and upon my desiring to be directed who I should of his servants advise with about this business, he told me nobody, but would be glad to hear from me himself. He told me he would not direct me in any thing, that it might not be said that the Lord Chancellor did labour to abuse the King ; or (as I offered) direct the suspending the Report of the Purveyors : but I see what he means, and I will make it my worke to do him service in it. But, Lord ! to see how he is incensed against poore Deane, as a fanatique rogue, and I know not what : and what he did was done in spite to his Lordship, among all his friends and tenants. He did plainly say that he would not direct me in any thing, for he would not put himself into the power of any man to say that he did so and so ; but plainly told me as if he would be glad I did something. Lord ! to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the

greatness of these men. He named Sir G. Carteret, and Sir J. Minnes, and the rest ; and that he was as angry with them all as me. But it was pleasant to think that, while he was talking to me, comes into the garden Sir G. Carteret ; and my Lord avoided speaking with him, and made him and many others stay expecting him, while I walked up and down above an houre, I think ; and would have me walk with my hat on. And yet, after all this, there has been so little ground for this his jealousy of me, that I am sometimes afraid that he do this only in policy to bring me to his side by scaring me ; or else, which is worse, to try how faithfull I would be to the King ; but I rather think the former of the two. I parted with great assurance how I acknowledged all I had to come from his Lordship ; which he did not seem to refuse, but with great kindness and respect parted.

15th. Up, and to my Lord Sandwich's ; where he sent for me up, and I did give my Lord an account of what had passed with my Lord Chancellor yesterday ; with which he was well pleased, and advised me by all means to study in the best manner I could to serve him in this business. After this discourse ended, he begun to tell me that he had now pitched upon his day of going to sea upon Monday next, and that he would now give me an account how matters are with him. He told me that his work now in the world is only to keep up his interest at Court, having little hopes to get more considerably, he saying that he hath now about 8,000*l.* per annum. It is true, he says,

he oweth about 10,000*l.*; but he hath been at great charges in getting things to this pass in his estate; besides his building and good goods that he hath bought. He says that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, 7,000*l.* to him there, if he knew how to get it paid, besides 2,000*l.* that Mr. Montagu do owe him. As to his interest, he says that he hath had all the injury done him that ever man could have by another bosom friend that knows all his secrets, by Mr. Montagu; but he says that the worst of it all is past, and he gone out and hated, his very person by the King, and he believes the more upon the score of his carriage to him; nay, that the Duke of York did say a little while since in his closett, that he did hate him because of his ungratefull carriage to my Lord of Sandwich. He says that he is as great with the Chancellor, or greater, than ever in his life. That with the King he is the like; and told me an instance, that whereas he formerly was of the private council to the King before he was last sicke, and that by the sickness an interruption was made in his attendance upon him; the King did not constantly call him, as he used to do, to his private council, only in businesses of the sea and the like; but of late the King did send a message to him by Sir Harry Bennet, to excuse the King to my Lord that he had not of late sent for him as he used to do to his private council, for it was not out of any distaste, but

to avoid giving offence to some others whom he did not name ; but my Lord supposes it might be Prince Rupert, or it may be only that the King would rather pass it by an excuse, than be thought unkind : but that now he did desire him to attend him constantly, which of late he hath done, and the King never more kind to him in his life than now. The Duke of York, as much as is possible ; and in the business of late, when I was to speak to my Lord about his going to sea, he says that he finds the Duke did it with the greatest ingenuity and love in the world ; “and whereas,” says my Lord, “here is a wise man hard by that thinks himself so, and would be thought so, and it may be is in a degree so (naming by and by my Lord Crew), would have had me condition with him that neither Prince Rupert nor any body should come over his head, and I know not what.” The Duke himself hath caused in his commission, that he be made Admirall of this and what other ships or fleets shall hereafter be put out after these ; which is very noble. He tells me in these cases, and that of Mr. Montagu’s, and all others, he finds that bearing of them patiently is his best way, without noise or trouble, and things wear out of themselves and come fair again. But says he takes it from me, never to trust too much to any man in the world, for you put yourself into his power ; and the best seeming friend and real friend as to the present may have or take occasion to fall out with you, and then out comes all. Then he told me of Sir Harry Bennet, though they were always kind, yet now

it is become to an acquaintance and familiarity above ordinary, that for these months he hath done no business but with my Lord's advice in his chamber, and promises all faithfull love to him and service upon all occasions. My Lord says, that he hath the advantage of being able by his experience to helpe and advise him; and he believes that that chiefly do invite Sir Harry to this manner of treating him. "Now," says my Lord, "the only and the greatest embarras that I have in the world is, how to behave myself to Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Chancellor, in case that there do lie any thing under the embers about my Lord Bristoll, which nobody can tell; for then," says he, "I must appear for one or other, and I will lose all I have in the world rather than desert my Lord Chancellor: so that," says he, "I know not for my life what to do in that case." For Sir H. Bennet's love is come to the height, and his confidence, that he hath given my Lord a character,<sup>1</sup> and will oblige my Lord to correspond with him. "This," says he, "is the whole condition of my estate and interest; which I tell you, because I know not whether I shall see you again or no." Then as to the voyage, he thinks it will be of charge to him, and no profit; but that he must not now look after nor think to encrease, but study to make good what he hath, that what is due to him from the Wardrobe or elsewhere may be paid, which otherwise would fail, and all a man hath be but small

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<sup>1</sup> A cypher.

content to him. So we seemed to take leave one of another ; my Lord of me, desiring me that I would write to him and give him information upon all occasions in matters that concern him ; which, put together with what he preambled with yesterday, makes me think that my Lord do truly esteem me still, and desires to preserve my service to him ; which I do bless God for. In the middle of our discourse my Lady Crew came in to bring my Lord word that he hath another son,<sup>1</sup> my Lady being brought to bed just now, for which God be praised ! and send my Lord to study the laying up of something the more ! Then with Creed to St. James's, and missing Mr. Coventry, to White Hall ; where, staying for him in one of the galleries, there comes out of the chayre-room Mrs. Stewart, in a most lovely form, with her hair all about her eares, having her picture taking there. There was the King and twenty more, I think, standing by all the while, and a lovely creature she in this dress seemed to be.

16th. Up in the morning, my head mightily confounded with the great deale of business I have upon me to do. To the office, and there comes W. Howe, for my Lord's bill of Imprest<sup>2</sup> for 500*l.* to carry with him this voyage. Thence to Trinity House to a dinner which Sir G. Carteret makes there as Maister this year. Thence to White Hall to the Tangier Committee, and there, above my expectation, got the

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich's sixth son, James Montagu, who died unmarried.

<sup>2</sup> See notes, Nov. 28th, 1660, and 17th October, 1666. (M. B.)

business of our contract for the victualling carried for my people, viz., Alsopp, Lanyon, and Yeabsly; and by their promise I do thereby get 300*l.* per annum to myself, which do overjoy me; and the matter is left to me to draw up. Thence walked a while with Mr. Coventry in the gallery, and first find that he is mighty cold in his present opinion of Mr. Peter Pett for his flagging and doing things so lazily there, and he did also surprise me with a question why Deane did not bring in their report of the timber of Clarendon. What he means thereby I know not, but at present put him off; nor do I know how to steer myself: but I must think of it, and advise with my Lord Sandwich.

17th (Lord's day). After dinner walked to my Lord's, and there found him and much other guests at table at dinner, and it seems they have christened his young son to-day — called him James. I got a piece of cake. I got my Lord to signe and seale my business about my selling of Brampton land, which though not so full as I would, yet is as full as I can at present. Walked home again, and there fell to read, and by and by comes my uncle Wight and Dr. Burnett, and talked and drank, and the Dr. showed me the manner of eating turpentine, which pleases me well, for it is with great ease.

18th. To my Lord's, and there took my leave of him, he seeming very friendly to me in as serious a manner as ever in his life, and I believe he is very confident of me. He sets out this morning for Deale.



Thence to St. James's to the Duke, and there did our usual business. He discourses very freely of a warr with Holland, to begin about winter, so that I believe we shall come to it. Before we went up to the Duke, Sir G. Carteret and I did talk together in the Parke about my Lord Chancellor's business of the timber; he telling me freely that my Lord Chancellor was never so angry with him in all his life, as he was for this business, and in a great passion; and that when he saw me there, he knew what it was about. And plots now with me how we may serve my Lord, which I am mightily glad of; and I hope together we may do it. Thence to Westminster to my barber's, to have my Periwigg he lately made me cleansed of its nits, which vexed me cruelly that he should put such a thing into my hands. Thence home and Creed with me, and there he took occasion to owne his obligations to me, and did lay down twenty pieces in gold upon my shelf in my closett, which I did not refuse, but wish and expected should have been more. But, however, this is better than nothing, and now I am out of expectation, and shall henceforward know how to deal with him. After discourse of settling his matters here, we went out by coach, and he 'light at the Temple, and there took final leave of me, in order to his following my Lord to-morrow, I to my Lord Chancellor, and discoursed his business with him. I perceive, and he says plainly, that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my Lord Chancellor did contrive the wronging the

King of his timber; but yet I perceive, he would be glad to have service done him therein; and told me Sir G. Carteret hath told him that he and I would look after his business to see it done in the best manner for him. Of this I was glad, and so away.

19th. After dinner Sir W. Batten and I down by water to Woolwich, where coming to the rope-yarde we are told that Mr. Falconer, who hath been ill of a relapse these two days, is just now dead. We went up to his widow, who is sicke in bed also. The poor woman in great sorrow, and entreats our friendship, which we shall, I think, in every thing do for her. I am sure I will. Thence to the Docke, and so home. At the office till 9 o'clock about Sir W. Warren's contract for masts, and then with Lanyon and Yeabsly till 12 and past about their contract for Tangier, wherein they and I differed, for I would have it drawn to the King's advantage, as much as might be, which they did not like, but parted good friends; however, when they were gone, I wished that I had forborne any disagreement till I had had their promise to me in writing.

20th. With Mr. Deane, discoursing upon the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber, in Clarendon Parke, and how to make a report therein without offending him; which at last I drew up, and hope it will please him. But I would to God neither I nor he ever had had any thing to have done with it! To White Hall, to the Committee for Fishing; but nothing done, it being a great day to-day there upon

drawing at the Lottery<sup>1</sup> of Sir Arthur Slingsby. I got in and stood by the two Queenes and the Duchesse of York, and just behind my Lady Castlemaine, whom I do heartily adore; and good sport it was to see how most that did give their ten pounds did go away with a pair of globes only for their lot, and one gentlewoman, one Mrs. Fish, with the only blanke. And one I staid to see drew a suit of hangings valued at 430*l.* and they say are well worth the money, or near it. One other suit there is better than that; but very many lots of three and fourscore pounds. I observed the King and Queenes did get but as poor lots as any else. But the wisest man I met with was Mr. Cholmley, who insured as many as would, from drawing of the one blank for 12*l.*; in which case there was the whole number of persons to one, which I think was three or four hundred. And so he insured about 200 for 200 shillings, so that he could not have lost if one of them had drawn it, for there was enough to pay the 10*l.*; but it happened another drew it, and so he got all the money he took. I left the lottery, and went to a play, only a piece of it, which was at the Duke's house, "Worse and Worse;"<sup>2</sup> just the same manner of play, and writ, I believe, by the same man as "The Adventures of Five Hours;"<sup>3</sup> very pleasant it was, and I begin to admire Harris more than ever.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn says this Lottery was a shameful imposition.

<sup>2</sup> A Comedy, by G. Digby, Earl of Bristol.      <sup>3</sup> Sir Samuel Tuke.

<sup>4</sup> He played Don Antonio, "a soldier haughty and of exact honour."

21st. To the office, among others making a contract with Sir W. Warren for almost 1,000 Gottenburgh masts, the biggest that ever were made in the Navy, and wholly of my compassing and a good one I hope it is for the King. This morning to the office comes Nicholas Osborne, Mr. Gauden's clerke, to desire of me what piece of plate I would choose to have of 100*l.*, or thereabouts, bestowed upon me in, he having order to lay out so much; and, out of his freedom with me, do of himself come to make this question. I a great while urged my unwillingnesse to take any, not knowing how I could serve Mr. Gauden, but left it wholly to himself; so at noon I find brought home in fine leather cases a pair of the noblest flaggons that ever I saw all the days of my life; whether I shall keepe them or no I cannot tell; for it is to oblige me to him in the business of the Tangier victualling, wherein I doubt I shall not; but glad I am to see that I shall be sure to get something on one side or other, have it which will: so, with a merry heart, I looked upon them, and locked them up. After dinner to give my Lord Chancellor a good account of his business, and he is very well pleased therewith, and carries himself with great discretion to me, without seeming over glad or beholding to me; and yet I know that he do think himself very well served by me.

22nd. To Deptford, where coming too soon, I spent an houre in looking round the yarde, and putting Mr. Shish<sup>1</sup> to measure a piece or two of timber, which he

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's "Diary," 13th May, 1680. "I was at the funeral of old Mr.

did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's losse 12 or 13s. in a piece of 28 feet in contents. Thence to the Clerke of the Cheques, from whose house Mr. Falconer was buried to-day; Sir J. Minnes and I the only principall officers that were there. We walked to church with him, and then I left them without staying the sermon and straight home by water, and there find, as I expected, Mr. Hill, and Andrews, and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Signor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the theorbo most neatly, and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of musique counted of all hands in the world, made by Signor Charissimi,<sup>1</sup> the famous master in Rome. Fine it was, indeed, and too fine for me to judge of. They have spoke to Pedro to meet us every weeke, and I fear it will grow a trouble to me if we once come to bid judges to meet us, especially idle Masters, which do a little displease me to consider. They gone comes Mr. Lanyon, who tells me Mr. Alsopp is now become dangerously ill, and fears his recovery, which shakes my expectation of 300*l.* per annum by the business; and,

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Shish, Master Shipwright of His Majesty's Yard here, an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public loss, for his excellent success in building ships (though altogether illiterate) and for bringing up so many of his children to be able artists. I held up the pall with three knights who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it. It was the custom of this good man to rise in the night and pray, kneeling in his own coffin, which he had lying by him for many years. He was born that famous year, the Gunpowder-plot, 1605." (M. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Giacomo Carissimi, Maestro di Capella of St. Apollinare, in the German College at Rome, one of the most excellent of the Italian musicians. He lived to be ninety years old, composed much, and died very rich. — *Hawkins's Hist. of Music.*

therefore, bless God for what Mr. Gauden hath sent me, which, from some discourse to-day with Mr. Osborne, swearing that he knows not any thing of this business of the victualling; but, the contrary, that it is not that moves Mr. Gauden to send it me, for he hath had order for it any time these two months. Whether this be true or no, I know not; but I shall hence with the more confidence keepe it.

23rd. I took occasion to break the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber <sup>1</sup> to Mr. Coventry in the best manner I could. He professed to me, that, till Sir G. Carteret did speake of it at the table, after our officers were gone to survey it, he did not know that my Lord Chancellor had any thing to do with it; but now he says that he had been told by the Duke that Sir G. Carteret had spoke to him about it, and that he had told the Duke that, were he in my Lord Chancellor's case, if he were his father, he would fling away the gains of two or 3,000*l.*, than have it said that the timber, which should have been the King's, if it had continued the Duke of Albemarle's, was concealed by us in favour of my Lord Chancellor; for, says he, he is a great man, and all such as he, and he himself particularly have a great many enemies that would be glad of such an advantage against him. When I said it was strange that Sir J. Minnes and Sir G. Carteret, that knew my Lord Chancellor's concernment therein, should not at first inform us, he answered me that for

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<sup>1</sup> See 18th August, 1662.



Sir J. Minnes, he is looked upon to be an old good companion, but by nobody at the other end of the towne as any man of business, and that my Lord Chancellor, he dares say, never did tell him of it, only Sir G. Carteret, he do believe, must needs know it. So for himself, he said, he would not mince the matter, but was resolved to do what was fit, and stand upon his owne legs therein and that he would speak to the Duke, that he and Sir G. Carteret might be appointed to attend my Lord Chancellor in it. All this disturbs me mightily. I know not what to say to it, nor how to carry myself therein ; for a compliance will discommend me to Mr. Coventry, and a discompliance to my Lord Chancellor. But I think to let it alone, or at least meddle in it as little more as I can.

25th. Met with a printed copy of the King's commission for the repair of Paul's,<sup>1</sup> which is very large, and large power for collecting money, and reccvering of all people that had bought or sold formerly any thing belonging to the Church. And here I find my Lord Mayor of the City set in order before the Archbishop or any nobleman, though all the greatest officers of state are there. But yet I do not hear by my Lord Berkeley, who is one of them, that any thing is

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<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's "Diary," 27th August, 1666. "I went to St. Paul's church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Pratt, Mr. May, Mr. Thomas Chicheley, Mr. Slingsby, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Sancroft), and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the general decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set down in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article." (M. B.)



like to come of it. No newes, only the plague is very hot still, and encreases among the Dutch.

26th. To Anthony Joyce's, to our gossip's dinner. I had sent a dozen and a half of bottles of wine thither, and paid my double share besides, which is 18s. Very merry all, as much as I could be in such sorry company. Great discourse of the fray yesterday in Moorefields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers (between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery), but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves, that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field, and some deeply wounded and bruised; till at last the weavers went out tryumphing, calling 100*l.* for a butcher.

27th. To White Hall, where anon the Duke of York came, and a Committee we had of Tangier, where I read over my rough draught of the contract for Tangier victualling, and acquainted them with the death of Mr. Alsopp, which Mr. Lanyon had told me this morning, which is a sad consideration to see how uncertain a thing our lives are and how little to be presumed of in our greatest undertakings. The words of the contract are approved of, and I home and there came Mr. Lanyon to me and brought my neighbour, Mr. Andrews, to me, whom he proposes for his partner in the room of Mr. Alsopp and I like well enough

of it. This afternoon came my great store of Coles in, being 10 Chaldron, so that I may see how long they will last me.

28th. At the office all the morning, dined at home, and then abroad, and seeing "The Bondman"<sup>1</sup> upon the posts, I consulted my oaths and find I may go safely this time without breaking them; I went thither, and saw it acted. It is true, for want of practice, they had many of them forgot their parts a little; but Betterton and my poor Ianthe outdo all the world. There is nothing more taking in the world with me than that play. My present posture is thus: my wife in the country and my mayde Besse with her and all quiett there. I am endeavouring to find a woman for her to my mind and above all one that understands musique, especially singing. I am the willinger to keepe one because I am in good hopes to get two or 300*l.* per annum extraordinary by the business of the victualling of Tangier and yet Mr. Alsopp, my chief hopes, is dead since my looking after it and now Mr. Lanyon, I fear, is falling sicke too. All our discourse is of a Dutch warr, and I find it is likely to come to it, for they are very high and desire not to compliment us at all, as far as I hear, but to send a good fleete to Guiny to oppose us there. I am over-joyed in hopes that upon this month's account I shall find myself worth 1,000*l.* besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flaggons, which Mr. Gauden did give me the other day.

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<sup>1</sup> By Massinger, first acted 1623. (M. B.)

My Lord Sandwich newly gone to sea, and he did before his going, and by his letter since, show me all manner of respect and confidence. I do now live very prettily at home, being most seriously, quietly, and neatly served by my two mayds Jane and the girle Su, with both of whom I am mightily well pleased. My greatest trouble is the settling of Brampton Estate, that I may know what to expect, and how to be able to leave it when I die, so as to be just to my promise to my uncle Thomas and his son. The next thing is this cursed trouble my brother Tom is likely to put us to by his death, forcing us to law with his creditors.

29th. Mr. Hill, Andrews and Signor Pedro came and great store of musique we had, but I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils, methinks, the ingenuity of our practice. After they were gone comes Mr. Bland to me talking of the garrison of Tangier and serving them with pieces of eight. A mind he has to be employed there but dares not desire any courtesy of me, for I perceive they do all find that I am the busy man to see the King have right done him by inquiring out other bidders.

30th. To the 'Change, where great talke of a rich present brought by an East India ship from some of the Princes of India, worth to the King 70,000*l.* in two precious stones. This afternoon, with great content, I finished the contracts for victualling of Tangier, with Mr. Lanyon and the rest, and to my comfort, got him and Andrews to sign to the giving me 300*l.* per annum, by which, at least, I hope to be a 100*l.* or two

the better. This day I sent a side of venison and six bottles of wine to Kate Joyce.

31st (Lord's day). Up, and to church, where I have not been these many weeks. To Sir J. Minnes, where I was invited and all our families to a venison pasty. Here good cheer and good discourse. After dinner Mr. Hill and I to my house and there to musique all the afternoon. In the evening to my accounts and to my great joy and with great thanks to Almighty God I do find myself most clearly worth 1,014*l.*, which is the height of all that ever I have for a long time pretended to. To bed, discoursing God to give me the grace to make good use of what I have and continue my care and diligence to gain more.

August 1st. To the Coffee-house, and there all the house full of the victory of Generall Soushe<sup>1</sup> (who is a Frenchman, a soldier of fortune, commanding part of the German army) hath had against the Turke; killing 4,000 men, and taking most extraordinary spoil. Thence taking up Harman and his wife, carried them to Anthony Joyce's, where we had my venison in a pasty well done; but, Lord! to see how much they made of it, as if they had never eat any before, and very merry we were. Mrs. Harman is a very pretty-humoured wretch, whom I could love with all heart, being so good and innocent company. Last night, at 12 o'clock, I was waked with knocking at Sir W. Pen's door; and what was it but people's running up and

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<sup>1</sup> General Soushe was Louis Ratuit, Comte de Souches. The battle was fought at Lewentz, in Hungary.

down to bring him word that his brother,<sup>1</sup> who hath been a good while, it seems, sicke, is dead.

2nd. To the 'Change, and there walked with Sir W. Warren, who after much discourse in general fell to talk how every body must live by their places, and that he was willing, if I desired it, that I should go share with him in anything that he deals in. He told me again and again that he confesses himself my debtor 100*l.* for my service and friendship to him in his present great contract for masts, and that between this and Christmas he shall be in stocke and will pay it me. This I like well, but do not desire to become a merchant, and, therefore, put it off, but desired time to think of it. Thence to the King's play-house, and there saw "Bartholomew Fayre,"<sup>2</sup> which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery; that is, is going to build a house in Moorefields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time; where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as is in

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<sup>1</sup> George Pen, the elder brother of Sir W. Pen, was a wealthy merchant at San Lucar, the port of Seville. He was seized as a heretic by the Holy Office and cast into a dungeon eight feet square and dark as the grave. There he remained three years, every month being scourged to make him confess his crimes. At last, after being twice put to the rack, he offered to confess whatever they would suggest. His property, 12,000*l.*, was then confiscated, his wife, a Catholic, taken from him, and he was banished from Spain for ever. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> By Ben Jonson. (M. B.)

Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough. So to Sir W. Pen, and with him and our fellow officers and servants of the house and none else to Church to lay his brother in the ground, wherein nothing handsome at all, but that he lays him under the Communion table in the chancel, about nine at night. So home and to bed.

4th. Dined with Sir W. Pen and out with him by his coach, and he did carry me to a play and pay for me at the King's house, "The Rivall Ladys,"<sup>1</sup> a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and it being given me,<sup>2</sup> I look upon it as no breach of my oathe. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was, the last night, going out of towne (after he had acted the Alchymist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts) to his country-house, set upon and murdered;<sup>3</sup> one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow. It seems most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him. Thence visited my Lady Sandwich, who tells me my Lord FitzHarding is to be made a Marquis.

5th. About ten o'clock I dressed myself, and so

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<sup>1</sup> A Tragedy by Dryden.

<sup>2</sup> His companion paid for him.

<sup>3</sup> A poem upon his death was published at the time, with the following title: "An Elegy upon the most execrable murder of Mr. Clun, one of the comedians of the Theatre Royal, who was robbed and most inhumanly killed on Tuesday night, being the 2nd of August, 1664, near Tatnam Court, as he was riding to his country house at Kentish Town."

mounted upon a very pretty mare, sent me by Sir W. Warren, according to his promise yesterday. And so through the City, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to my cozen W. Joyce's who presently mounted too, and he and I out of towne toward Highgate; in the way, at Kentish-towne, he showing me the place and manner of Clun's being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me, also, the manner of it, of his going home so late drinking with his mistresse, and manner of having it found out. Thence forward to Barnett, and there drank, and so by night to Stevenage, it raining a little, and there, to my great trouble, find that my wife was not come, nor any Stamford coach gone down this week, so that she cannot come. So vexed and weary I after supper to bed, and after a little sleep, W. Joyce comes in his shirt into my chamber, with a note and a messenger from my wife, that she was come by Yorke coach to Bigglesworth, and would be with us to-morrow morning. So, mightily pleased at her discreete action in this business, I with peace to sleep again till next morning. So up, and

6th. Here lay Deane Honiwood last night. I met and talked with him this morning, and a simple priest he is, though a good, well-meaning man. W. Joyce and I to a game at bowles on the green there till eight o'clock, and then comes my wife and a coach full of women, only one man riding by, come down to meet



a sister of his. So very joyful mounted and away with them to Welling,<sup>1</sup> and there 'light, and dined very well and merry and glad to see my poor wife. After dinner, out again, and to London, all the way the mightiest merry at a couple of young gentlemen, come down to meet the same gentlewoman, that ever I was in my life, and so W. Joyce too, to see how one of them was horsed upon a hard-trotting sorrell horse, and both of them soundly weary and galled. But it is not to be set down how merry we were all the way. We 'light in Holborne, and by another coach my wife and mayde home, and I by horseback, and found all things well and most mighty neate and clean.

7th (Lord's day). Lay long caressing my wife and talking, she telling me sad stories of the ill, improvident, disquiett, and sluttish manner that my father and mother and Pall live in the country, which troubles me mightily, and I must seek to remedy it. So up and I shewed my wife, to her great admiration and joy, Mr. Gauden's present of plate, the two flaggons, which indeed are so noble that I hardly can think that they are yet mine. So blessing God for it we down to dinner mighty pleasant, and I then to White Hall and met with Mr. Spong and he with me as far as the Old Exchange talking of many ingenuous<sup>2</sup> things, musique and at last of glasses, and I find him still the same ingenuous<sup>2</sup> man that ever he was, and do among other fine things tell me that by his microscope of his owne

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<sup>1</sup> Welwyn.

<sup>2</sup> See note, March 14th, 1662-63. (M. B.)

making he do discover that the wings of a moth is made just as the feathers of the wing of a bird, and that most plainly and certainly. While we were talking came by several poor creatures carried by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be caught !

8th. After dinner to hang up my fine pictures in my dining room, which makes it very pretty, and so my wife and I abroad to the King's play-house, she giving me her time of the last month's she having not seen any then ; so my vow is not broke at all, it costing me no more money than it would have done upon her, had she gone both her times that were due to her. Here we saw "*Flora's Figarys*." <sup>1</sup> I never saw it before, and by the most ingenuous performance of the young jade Flora, it seemed as pretty a pleasant play as ever I saw in my life.

9th. At noon by appointment Mr. Blagrove came and dined with me. Very merry at dinner, and then up to my chamber and there we sung a Psalm or two of Lawes's, and then he and I a little talke by ourselves of his kinswoman that is to come to live with my wife. This day comes the newes that the Emperour hath beat the Turke ; <sup>2</sup> killed the Grand Vizier and several

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<sup>1</sup> "*Flora's Vagaries*," a Comedy, by Richard Rhodes, first acted by the students at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1663. See 5th Oct. 1667, where Knipp and Nell Gwyn act in this play. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This was the battle of St. Gothard, in which the Turks were defeated

great Bassas, with an army of 80,000 men killed and routed; with some considerable loss of his own side, having lost three generals, and the French forces all cut off almost.<sup>1</sup> Which is thought as good a service to the Emperour as beating the Turke almost.

10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small that Browne that made it cannot get one to do it. So I find out Cocker,<sup>2</sup> the famous writing-master, and get him to do it, and I set an hour by him to see him design it all; and strange it is to see him with his natural eyes to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not, with my best skill, read one word or letter of it; but it is use. He says that the best light for his life to do a very small thing by (contrary to Chaucer's words to the Sun, "that he should lend his light to them that small seals grave"),<sup>3</sup>

with great slaughter by the Imperial forces under Montecucoli, assisted by the confederates from the Rhine, and by forty troops of French cavalry under Coligni. St. Gothard is in Hungary, on the river Raab, near the frontier of Styria. It is about 120 miles south of Vienna and thirty east of Grätz. The battle took place on the 9th Moharrem, A. H. 1075, or 23rd July, A. D. 1664, *old style*, which is that used by Pepys.

<sup>1</sup> The fact is, the Germans were beaten by the Turks, and the French won the battle for them.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Cocker, the well-known writing-master and arithmetician. Ob. circ. 1679.

<sup>3</sup> The words are in "*Troilus and Creseide*," book iii., lines 1462 to 1468 (Chalmers's "*English Poets*," vol. i. p. 262):

"Alas, what have these lovers thee agilt?  
Dispitious day, thine be the paine of hell;  
For many a lover hast thou slain, and wilt,

it should be by an artificial light of a candle, set to advantage, as he could do it. I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenuous; and among other things, a great admirer and well read in all our English poets, and undertakes to judge of them all, and that not impertinently. Well pleased with his company and better with his judgement upon my Rule, I left him and home whither Mr. Deane by agreement came. After dinner Deane and I had great discourse again about my Lord Chancellor's timber, out of which I wish I may get well.

11th. Comes Cocker with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration, for goodness and smallness of work: it cost me 14s. the doing, and mighty pleased I am with it. This day, for a wager before the King, my Lords of Castlehaven and Arran (a son of my Lord of Ormond's), they two alone did run down and kill a stoute bucke in St. James's parke.

12th. Up, and all the morning busy at the office with Sir W. Warren about a great contract for New England masts, where I was very hard with him, even to the making him angry, but I thought it fit to do it as well as just for my owne and the King's behalf. So to dinner and then out by coach, setting my wife and mayde down, going to the silversmith to change some old silver lace and to go buy new silke lace for

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Thy poring in woll nowhere let 'hem dwell;  
What profrest thou thy light here for to sell?  
*Go sell it 'hem that smale seales 'grave,*  
We woll thee not; us needeth no day have."

a petticoat ; I to White Hall and did much business at a Tangier Committee ; where, among other things, speaking about, propriety<sup>1</sup> of the houses there, and how we ought to let the Portugese have right done them, as many of them as continue, or did sell the houses while they were in possession, and something further in their favour, the Duke in an anger I never observed in him before, did cry, says he, "All the world rides us, and I think we shall never ride anybody." Thence home, and Pedro being there, he sang a song and parted. I did give him 5s., but find it burdensome and so will break up the meeting.

13th. Up, and before I went to the office comes my Taylor with a coate I have made to wear within doors, purposely to come no lower than my knees, for by my wearing a gowne within doors comes all my tenderness about my legs. There comes also Mr. Reeve, with a microscope and scotoscope. For the first I did give him 5*l.* 10*s.*, a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England, and he makes the best in the world. The other he gives me, and is of value ; and a curious curiosity it is to look objects in a darke room with. Mightily pleased with this I to the office. Mr. Creed dining with me I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon, lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoyde my vowe with, but never to be more prac-

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* property. See note, 14th Jan. 1659-60. (M. B.)

tised I swear. To the new play,<sup>1</sup> at the Duke's house, of "Henry the Fifth;" a most noble play, writ by my Lord Orrery; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense, that ever I heard; having but one incongruity, that King Harry promises to plead for Tudor to their Mistresse, Princesse Katherine of France, more than when it comes to it he seems to do; and Tudor refused by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him. Thence home to read a little in Dr. Power's book of discovery by the Microscope to enable me a little how to use and what to expect from my glasse.

14th (Lord's day). Comes Mr. Herbert, Mr. Honiwood's man, and dined with me, a very honest, plain, well-meaning man, I think him to be; and by his discourse and manner of life, the true emblem of an old ordinary serving-man. By and by comes W. Joyce, in his silke suit, and cloake lined with velvett: staid talking with me, and I very merry at it. He supped with me; but a cunning, crafty fellow he is, and dangerous to displease, for his tongue spares nobody.

15th. Up, and with Sir J. Minnes by coach to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke, who tells us more and more signs of a Dutch warr,

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<sup>1</sup> Three women played in this piece — Mrs. Betterton, Mrs. Long, and Mrs. Davis.

and how we must presently set out a fleete for Guinny, for the Dutch are doing so, and there I believe the warr will begin. Thence home with him again, on our way he talking of his cures abroad, while he was with the King as a doctor. And among others, Sir J. Denham he told me he had cured to a miracle. At Charing Crosse, and there saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eye-browes with the tip of my fingers. He is a comely and well-made man, and his wife a very little but pretty comely Dutch woman. It is true, he wears pretty high-heeled shoes, but not very high, and do generally wear a turban, which makes him show yet taller than really he is.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an houre, with such continued lightnings, not flashes, but flames, that all the sky and ayre was light; and that for a great while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time; such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had even been in nature. And being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over. And that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any newes of hurt done. This day we had newes that my Lady Pen is landed and coming hither, so that I hope the family will be in better order and more neate than it has been.



17th. Up, and going to Sir W. Batten to speak to him about business, he did give me three bottles of his Epsum water, which I drank and it wrought well with me, and I found myself mightily cooled with them and refreshed. With Sir Thomas Crew, who told me how Mr. Edward Montagu is for ever blown up, and now quite out with his father again; to whom he pretended that his going down was, not that he was cast out of the Court, but that he had leave to be absent a month; but now he finds the truth. Mr. Pierce tells me the King do still sup every night with my Lady Castlemaine.

18th Dined alone at home, my wife going to-day to dine with Mrs. Pierce, and thence with her and Mrs. Clerke to see a new play, "The Court Secret."<sup>1</sup> My wife says the play is the worst that ever she saw in her life.

19th. To the office, where Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen and I sat all the morning hiring of ships to go to Guinny, where we believe the warr with Holland will first break out. After dinner, my wife and I to Sir W. Pen's, to see his Lady,<sup>2</sup> the first time, who is a well-looking, fat, short, old Dutchwoman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and, I believe, hath more wit than her

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<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by James Shirley, "written when the stage was interdicted," and first performed after the Restoration. Before the publication of this notice in Pepys, Langbaine's statement was the only evidence that it had ever been acted.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret, daughter of John Jaspar, a merchant at Rotterdam.

husband. Here we staid talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman at first visit. Creed came to me, and he and I out, among other things, to look out a man to make me a case, for to keep my stone, that I was cut of, in. Home to supper to a good dish of fritters, which I bespoke, and were done much to my mind. The newes of the Emperour's victory over the Turkes is by some doubted, but by most confessed to be very small (though great) of what was talked, which was 80,000 men to be killed and taken of the Turke's side.

20th. I walked to Cheapside to see the effect of a fire there this morning, since four o'clock ; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Dr. Fuller's niece, who are both out of towne, leaving only a mayde and man in towne. It begun in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward ; and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for them, for the Doctor's sake. Thence to the 'Change, and so home to dinner. And thence to Sir W. Batten's, whither Sir Richard Ford came, the Sheriffe, who hath been at this fire all the while ; and he tells me, upon my question, that he and the Mayor<sup>1</sup> were there, as it is their dutys to be, not only to keep the peace, but they have power of commanding the pulling down of any house or houses, to defend the whole City. By and by comes in the Common

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Anthony Bateman was then Lord Mayor, not Sir John Robinson. (M. B.)

Cryer of the City to speak with him ; and when he was gone, says he, " You may see by this man the constitution of the Magistracy of this City ; that this fellow's place, I dare give him (if he will be true to me) 1,000*l.* for his profits every year and expect to get 500*l.* more to myself thereby. When," says he, " I in myself am forced to spend many times as much."

21st (Lord's day). Mr. Coventry told us the Duke was gone ill of a fit of an ague to bed ; so we sent this morning to see how he do.

23rd. Lay long talking with my wife, and angry awhile about her desiring to have a French mayde all of a sudden, which I took to arise from yesterday's being with her mother. But that went over and friends again, and so she be well qualited, I care not much whether she be French or no, so a Protestant. I went into New Bridewell, in my way to Mr. Cole, and there I saw the new model, and it is very handsome. Several at work, among others, one pretty strumpet brought in last night, which works very lazily. I did give them 6*d.* to drink. The Dutch East India Fleete are now come home safe, which we are sorry for. Our Fleets on both sides are hastening out to Guinny.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there saw one suit of clothes made for my boy and linen set out, and I think to have him the latter end of this week, and so home, and Mr. Creed walking the greatest part of the way with me advising how to do in his case about his

being Secretary to us in conjunction with Duke, which I did give him the best I could.

25th. To the office after I had spoke to my taylor, Langford, desiring to know whether he knew of any debts that my father did owe in the City. He tells me, "No, not any." I did on purpose try him because of what words he and his wife had said of him, and further did desire him, that if he knew of any or could hear of any that he should bid them come to me, and I would pay them, for I would not that because he do not pay my brother's debts that therefore he should be thought to deny the payment of his owne. Jacke Noble came to me to tell me that he had Cave in prison, and that he would give me and my father good security that neither we nor any of our family should be troubled with the child; for he could prove that he was fully satisfied for him; and that if the worst came to the worst, the parish must keep it; that Cave did bring the child to his house, but they got it carried back again, and that thereupon he put him in prison. When he saw that I would not pay him the money, nor made anything of being secured against the child, he then said that then he must go to law, not himself, but come in as a witness for Cave against us. I could have told him that he could bear witness that Cave is satisfied, or else there is no money due to himself; but I let alone any such discourse, only getting as much out of him as I could. I perceive he is a rogue, and hath inquired into everything and consulted with Dr. Pepys. To supper and to bed,

my mind disordered about this roguish business — in every thing else, I thank God, well at ease.

26th. Up by 5 o'clock, and down by water to Deptford and to Woolwich to view Clothier's cordage, which I found bad and stopped the receipt of it. Thence to the Dockyarde, and there saw the new ship in very great forwardness. So home and shifting myself to the 'Change, and there did business, and thence down by water to White Hall. There I could not get into the Parke, and so was fain to stay in the gallery over the gate to look to the passage into the Parke, into which the King hath forbid of late anybody's coming. To see some pictures at one Hiseman's,<sup>1</sup> a picture drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lilly, and indeed there is both of the Queenes and Mayds of Honour (particularly Mrs. Stewart's<sup>2</sup> in a buff doublet like a soldier) as good pictures, I think, as ever I saw. The Queene is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Katharin, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed. Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife. A most modish person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman.

27th. To Cutler's house and there had a very good dinner, and two or three pretty young ladies of their relations there. Thence to my case-maker for my stone case, and had it to my mind, and cost me 24s., which is a great deale of money, but it is well done

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<sup>1</sup> Huysman.

<sup>2</sup> Still to be seen at Kensington Palace.

and pleases me. Home, and then find my boy, Tom Edwards, come, sent me by Captain Cooke, having been bred in the King's Chappell these four years. I propose to make a clerke of him, and if he deserves well, to do well by him. I find my boy a very schoole boy, that talks innocently and impertinently, but at present it is a sport to us, and in a little time he will leave it. So sent him to bed, he saying that he used to go to bed at eight o'clock. All the newes this day is, that the Dutch are, with twenty-two sayle of ships of warr, crewsing up and down about Ostend; at which we are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back into the Downes with only eight sayle, which is or may be a prey to the Dutch, if they knew our weakness and inability to set out any more speedily.

28th (Lord's day). Up, and with my boy alone to church—the first time I have had anybody to attend me to church a great while. Home to dinner, and there met Creed, who dined, and we merry together, as his learning is such and judgment that I cannot but be pleased with it. After dinner I took him to church, but slept the best part of the sermon, which was a most silly one. To bed, very merry to think how Mr. Holliard (who came in this evening to see me) makes nothing, but proving as a most clear thing that Rome is Antichrist.

29th. Mr. Hughes came to speak with me, and told me that as he came this morning from Deptford he left the King's yarde a-fire. So I presently took a boat and down, and there found, by God's provi-

dence, the fire out ; but if there had been any wind it must have burned all our stores, which is a most dreadfull consideration. Home, and Creed and I met at my Lady Sandwich's and there dined ; but my Lady is become as handsome, I think, as ever she was ; and so good, discreet a woman I know not in the world. I must remember that, never since I was a housekeeper, I ever lived so quietly, without any noise or one angry word almost, as I have done since my present mayds Besse, Jane, and Susan came and were together. Now I have taken a boy and am taking a woman, I pray God we may not be worse.

30th. After dinner comes Mr. Pen<sup>r</sup> to visit me, and staid an houre talking with me. I perceive something of learning he hath got, but a great deale, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garbe and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little.

31st. Up by five o'clock and to my office, and dispatch a great deal of my business. At noon home to dinner, and there my wife has got me some pretty good oysters, which is very soon and the soonest, I think, I ever eat any. After dinner I up to hear my boy play upon a lute, which I have this day borrowed of Mr. Hunt ; and indeed the boy would, with little practise, play very well upon the lute, which pleases me well. Very late casting up my monthly accounts, and, blessed be God ! find myself worth 1,020*l*. Prince Rupert



I hear this day is to go to command this fleete going to Guinny against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man.<sup>1</sup> Pretty well in health, since I left off wearing of a gowne within doors all day, and then go out with my legs into the cold, which brought me daily pain.

Sept. 1st. To the 'Change and thence brought Mr. Pierce, the Surgeon, and Creed, and dined very merry and handsomely; but my wife not being well, she not with us; and we cut up the great cake Moorcocke lately sent us, which is very good.

2nd. My wife abroad with me to Bartholomew Fayre and our boy with us, and there shewed them and myself the dancing on the ropes, and several other the best shows; but pretty it is to see how our boy carries himself so innocently clownish as would make one laugh. Here till late and dark, then up and down, to buy combs for my wife to give her mayds.

3rd. I have had a bad night's rest to-night, not sleeping well, as my wife observed, and I thought myself to be mightily bit with fleas, and in the morning she chid her mayds for not looking the fleas a-days. But, when I rose, I found that it is only the change of the weather from hot to cold, which, as I was two winters ago, do stop my pores, and so my blood tingles and itches all day all over my body, but sweating cured me then, and I hope, and am told, will this also.

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* unlucky or unfortunate, *infelix*, now obsolete in this sense.

After dinner to White Hall, to the Fishing Committee, but not above four of us met, which could do nothing, and a sad thing it is to see so great a work so ill followed, for at this pace it can come to nothing but disgrace to us all. To my office, whither Mr. Holliard came to me to discourse about the privileges of Surgeons' Hall, as to our signing of bills, wherein I did give him a little, and but a little, satisfaction ; for we won't lose our power of recommending them once approved of by the Hall.

4th (Lord's day). All the morning looking over my old wardrobe and laying by things for my brother John and my father, by which I shall leave myself very bare in clothes, but yet as much as I need, and the rest would but spoile in the keeping. All the afternoon my wife and I above, and then the boy and I to singing of psalms, and then came in Mr. Hill, and he sung with us awhile ; and, he being gone, the boy and I again to the singing of Mr. Porter's mottets,<sup>1</sup> and it is a great joy to me that I am come to this condition to maintain a person in the house able to give me such pleasure as this boy do by his thorough knowledge of musique, as he sings anything at first sight. Mr. Hill came to tell me that he had got a gentlewoman for my wife, one Mrs. Ferrabosco, that sings most admirably. I seemed glad of it ; but I hear she is too gallant for me, and I am not sorry that I misse her.

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<sup>1</sup> From the French *motet*, a psalm, holy song. (M. B.)

5th. With the Duke ; where all our discourse of warr in the highest measure. Prince Rupert was with us ; who is fitting himself to go to sea in the *Hene-retta*. And afterwards I met him and Mr. Gray, and, among other things, says he, “God d—n me, I can answer but for one ship, and in that I will do my part ; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command every thing.” By and by to a Committee for the Fishery, the Duke of York there, where, after Duke was made Secretary, we fell to name a Committee, whereof I was willing to be one, because I would have my hand in the business, to understand it and be known in doing something in it ; and so, after cutting out work for the Committee, we rose, and I to my wife to Unthank’s, and with her from shop to shop, laying out near 10*l*. this morning in clothes for her. So to dinner, whither came W. Bowyer and dined with us ; but strange to see how he could not endure onyons in sauce to lamb, but was overcome with the sight of it, and so was forced to make his dinner of an egg or two. After dinner down to Woolwich with a gally, all the way reading Sir J. Suckling’s “*Aglaura*,” which, methinks, is but a mean play ; nothing of design in it. Coming home it is strange to see how I was troubled to find my wife, but in a necessary compliment, expecting Mr. Pen to see her, who had been there and was by her people denied, which, he having been three times, she thought not fit he should be any more. But yet even this did raise my jealousy presently and much vex me. However, he did not come,

which pleased me. My aunt James had been here to-day. I do condemn myself mightily for my pride and contempt of my aunt and kindred that are not so high as myself.

6th. To White Hall by coach with Mr. Andrews, and there I got his contract for the victualling of Tangier signed and sealed by us there, so that all the business is well over, and I hope to have made a good business of it and to receive 100*l.* by it the next weeke, for which God be praised ! Thence to W. Joyce's and Anthony's, to invite them to dinner to meet my aunt James, and the rather because they are all to go down to my father the next weeke, and so I would be a little kind to them before they go. So home, having called upon Doll, our pretty 'Change woman, for a pair of gloves trimmed with yellow ribbon, to match the petticoate my wife bought yesterday, which cost me 20*s.* ; but she is so pretty, that, God forgive me ! I could not think it too much — which is a strange slavery that I stand in to beauty, that I value nothing near it. This day Mr. Coventry did tell us how the Duke did receive the Dutch Ambassador the other day ; by telling him that, whereas they think us in jest, he believes that the Prince (Rupert) which goes in this fleete to Guinny will soon tell them that we are in earnest, and that he himself will do the like here, in the head of the fleete here at home, and that for the meschants, which he told the Duke there were in England, which did hope to do themselves good by the King's being at warr, says he, the English have

ever united all this private difference to attend for-aigne, and that Cromwell, notwithstanding the mes-chants in his time, which were the Cavaliers, did never find them interrupt him in his foraigne businesses, and that he did not doubt but to live to see the Dutch as fearfull of provoking the English, under the government of a King, as he remembers them to have been under that of a Coquin. I wrote all this story to my Lord Sandwich to-night into the Downes, it being very good and true, word for word from Mr. Coventry to-day.

7th. With Mr. Margetts to Limehouse to see his ground and ropeyarde there, which is very fine, and I believe we shall employ it for the Navy, for the King's grounds are not sufficient to supply our dis-pense if a warr comes. Thence back to the 'Change, where great talke of the forwardnesse of the Dutch, which puts us all to a stand, and particularly myself for my Lord Sandwich, to think him to lie where he is for a sacrifice, if they should begin with us. With Creed walked to Bartholomew Fayre, this being the last day, and there saw the best dancing on the ropes that I think I ever saw in my life, and so all say, and so by coach home, where I find my wife has had her head dressed by her woman, Mercer, which is to come to her to-morrow, but my wife being to go to a christening to-morrow, she came to do her head up to-night.

8th. All haste made in setting out this Guinny fleete, but yet not such as will ever do the King's

business if we come to a warr. My wife this afternoon being very well dressed by her new woman, Mary Mercer, a decayed merchant's daughter that our Will helps us to, did go to the christening of Mrs. Mills, the parson's wife's child, where she never was before.

9th. Up, and to put things in order against dinner. I out and bought several things, among others, a dozen of silver salts; and at noon comes my company, namely, Anthony and Will Joyce and their wives, my aunt James newly come out of Wales, and my cozen Sarah Gyles.<sup>1</sup> Her husband did not come, and by her I did understand afterwards, that it was because he was not yet able to pay me the 40s. she had borrowed a year ago of me. I was as merry as I could, giving them a good dinner; but W. Joyce did so talk, that he made every body else dumb, but only laugh at him. I forgot there was Mr. Harman and his wife, my aunt, a very good harmlesse woman. All their talke is of her and my two she-cozen Joyces and Will's little boy Will, who was also here to-day. They eyed mightily my great cupboard of plate, I this day putting my two flaggons upon my table; and indeed it is a fine sight, and better than ever I did hope to see of my owne. Mercer dined with us at table, this being her first dinner in my house. After dinner, my wife

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<sup>1</sup> Pepys would have been more proud of his cousin had he anticipated her husband's becoming a knight, for she was probably the same person whose burial is recorded in the Register of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, September 4th, 1704: "Dame Sarah Gyles, widow, relict of Sir John Gyles."



and Mercer and Tom and I sat till eleven at night, singing and fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house, that it is and will be still, I hope, a constant pleasure to me to be at home. The girle plays pretty well upon the harpsicon, but only ordinary tunes, but hath a good hand ; sings a little, but hath a good voyce and eare. My boy, a brave boy, sings finely, and is the most pleasant boy at present, while his ignorant boy's tricks last, that ever I saw.

10th. To the office all the morning, and I much troubled to think what the end of our great sluggishness will be, for we do nothing in this office like people able to carry on a warr. We must be put out, or other people put in. Dined at home, and then my wife and I and Mercer to the Duke's house, and there saw "The Rivalls,"<sup>1</sup> which is no excellent play, but good acting in it ; especially Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely, but, for all that, fell out of the key, so that the musique could not play to her afterwards, and so Harris also did go out of the tune to agree with her. This night I received, by Will, 105*l.*, the first-fruits of my endeavours in the late contract for victualling of Tangier, for which God be praised ! for I can with a safe conscience say that I have therein saved the King 5,000*l.* per annum, and yet got myself

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<sup>1</sup> "The Two Noble Kinsmen" is supposed to have been written conjointly by Fletcher and Shakespeare, and an alteration of this play was produced in 1664 under the title of "The Rivals," and has been attributed to Davenant. (M. B.)



a hope of 300*l.* per annum without the least wrong to the King.

11th (Lord's day). Up and to church in the best manner I have gone a good while, that is to say, with my wife, and her woman, Mercer, along with us, and Tom, my boy, waiting on us. A dull sermon. With Mr. Blagrove walking in the Abbey, he telling me the whole government and discipline of White Hall Chap-pell, and the caution now used against admitting any debauched persons. This afternoon, it seems, Sir J. Minnes fell sicke at church, and going down the gallery stairs fell down dead, but came to himself again and is pretty well.

12th. Up, and to my cozen Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my aunt James, and both cozens, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my Aunt 20*s.*, to carry as a token to my mother, and 10*s.* to Pall.<sup>1</sup> With the Duke ; and saw him with great pleasure play with his little girle,<sup>2</sup> like an ordinary private father of a child. To Mr. Creed's lodgings, talking mightily of the convenience and necessity of a man's wearing good clothes, and so after eating a messe of creame I took leave of him, he walking with me as far as Fleete Conduit, he offering me upon my request to put out some money for me in Backewell's hands at 6 per cent. interest, which he seldom gives, which I will consider of, being doubtful of trusting any of these

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<sup>1</sup> His sister Paulina.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Queen Mary.

great dealers because of their mortality, but then the convenience of having one's money at an hour's call is very great. Thence to my uncle Wight's, and there supped with my wife, having given them a brave barrel of oysters of Povy's giving me.

13th. To Fishmonger's Hall, where we met the first time upon the Fishery Committee, and many good things discoursed of concerning making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lotterys, but with great confusion; but I hope we shall fall into greater order.

14th. Up, and wanting some things that should be laid ready for my dressing myself I was angry, and one thing after another made my wife give Besse warning to be gone, which the jade, whether out of fear or ill-nature or simplicity I know not, but she took it and asked leave to go forth to look a place, and did, which vexed me to the heart, she being as good a natured wench as ever we shall have, but only forgetful. Down to Blackwall by water to view a place found out for laying of masts, and I think it will be most proper. So home and there found Mr. Pen<sup>1</sup> come to visit my wife, and staid with them till sent for to Mr. Bland's, and against my will left them together, but, God knows, without any reason of fear in my conscience of evil between them, but such is my natural folly.

15th. After dinner many people came in and kept

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<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Quaker. (M. B.)

me all the afternoon, among other the Master and Wardens of Chyrurgeon's Hall, who staid arguing their cause with me ; I did give them the best answer I could.

16th. Mr. Gauden coming to me, I had a good opportunity to speak to him about his present, which hitherto hath been a burden to me, because I was doubtfull that he meant it as a temptation to me to stand by him in the business of Tangier victualling ; but he clears me it was not, and that what he did was for my old kindnesses to him in dispatching of his business. Met Sir W. Warren, and afterwards to the Sun taverne, where he brought to me, being all alone, a 100*l.* in a bag, which I offered him to give him my receipt for, but he told me, no, it was my owne, which he had a little while since promised me, and so most kindly he did give it me, and I as joyfully, even out of myself, carried it home in a coach, he himself expressly taking care that nobody might see this business done, though I was willing enough to have carried a servant with me to have received it, but he advised me to do it myself. So home with it. After dinner to the mathematical instrument maker in Moorefields and bought a large pair of compasses, and there met Mr. Pargiter, and he would needs have me drink a cup of horse-radish ale, which he and a friend of his troubled with the stone have been drinking of, which we did and then walked into the fields as far almost as Sir G. Whitmore's,<sup>1</sup> all the way talking

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<sup>1</sup> Baulmes, at Hoxton, situate in the parish of Hackney, near the Isling-

of Russia, which, he says, is a sad place ; and, though Moscow is a very great city, yet it is from the distance between house and house, and few people compared with this, and poor, sorry houses, the Emperor himself living in a wooden house, his exercise only flying a hawk at pigeons and carrying pigeons ten or twelve miles off and then laying wagers which pigeon shall come soonest home to her house. All the winter within doors, some few playing at chesse, but most drinking their time away. Women live very slavishly there, and it seems in the Emperor's court no room hath above two or three windows, and those the greatest not a yard wide or high, for warmth in winter time ; and that the general cure for all diseases there is their sweating houses, or people that are poor they get into their ovens, being heated, and there lie. Little learning among them of any sort. Not a man that speaks Latin, unless the Secretary of State by chance. This day old Hardwicke came and redeemed a watch he had left with me in pawne for 40s. seven years ago, and I let him have it.

17th. Up and to the office, where Mr. Coventry very angry to see things go so coldly as they do, and I must needs say it makes me fearful every day of having some change of the office.

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ton boundary, belonged to Sir George Whitmore, of Barnes, in Surrey, who was Lord Mayor in 1631, and a great sufferer for the royal cause. His daughter Anne, mentioned by Pepys, 28th February, 1663-64, married Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower. Baulmes is described as an old square mansion, with two stories in the roof. It was afterwards converted into a madhouse, and demolished in the year 1852.

18th (Lord's day). Up and to church all of us. Last night my aunt Wight did send my wife a new scarfe, laced, as a token for her many givings to her. It is true now and then we give them some toys, as oranges, &c., but my aime is to get myself something more from my uncle's favour than this.

19th. Up, my wife and I having a little anger about her woman already, she thinking that I take too much care of her at table to mind her (my wife) of cutting for her, but it soon over. So with Sir W. Batten and W. Pen to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. So home to dinner, my wife having put on to-day her winter new suit of moyre, which is handsome, and so after dinner I did give her 15*l.* to lay out in linen and necessaries for the house and to buy a suit for Pall, and I myself to White Hall to a Tangier Committee, where Coll. Reames has brought us so full and methodical an account of all matters there, that I never have nor hope to see the like of any publique business while I live again. I met with Dr. Pierce to-day, who, speaking of Dr. Frazier's<sup>1</sup> being so earnest to have such a one (one Collins) go surgeon to the Prince's person will have him go in his terms and with so much money in his hands, he tells me (when I was wondering that Frazier should order things with the Prince in that confident manner) that Frazier is so great

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Fraizer, one of the King's physicians. Sir John Denham refers to him very unceremoniously in "A Dialogue between Sir John Pooley and Mr. Thomas Killigrew."

with my Lady Castlemaine, and Stewart, and all the ladies at Court, in helping to slip their calves when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of them, that he can do what he please with the King, in spite of any man, and upon the same score with the Prince; they all having more or less occasion to make use of him. Collonell Reames<sup>1</sup> did this day tell me how it is clear that, if my Lord Teviott had lived, he would have quite undone Tangier, or designed himself to be master of it. He did put the King upon most great, chargeable, and unnecessary works there, and took the course industriously to deter all other merchants but himself to deal there, and to make both King and all others pay what he pleased for all that was brought thither.

20th. Met by appointment with Captain Poyntz, who hath some place, or title to a place, belonging to gameing, and so I discoursed with him about the business of our improving of the Lotterys, to the King's benefit, and that of the Fishery, and had some light from him in the business, and shall, he says, have more in writing from him. So home to dinner and then abroad to the Fishing Committee at Fishmongers' Hall, and there sat and did some business considerable. I find with great delight that I am come to my good temper of business again. God continue me in it.

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<sup>1</sup> Bullen Reymes, M. P. for Melcombe Regis in 1664, was appointed one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded prisoners of war. — EVELYN'S *Diary*, Oct. 27, 1664.

21st. Up, and by coach to Mr. Povy's, and there got him to signe the payment of Captain Tayler's bills for the remainder of freight for the Eagle, wherein I shall be gainer about 30*l.*, thence with him to Westminster to Huysman's<sup>1</sup> the great picture drawer, and saw again very fine pictures, and have his promise, for Mr. Povy's sake, to take pains in what picture I shall set him about, and I think to have my wife's. But it is a strange thing to observe and fit for me to remember that I am at no time so unwilling to part with money as when I am concerned in the getting of it most. Thence to White Hall and back to Povy's to dinner, where great and good company; among others Sir John Skeffington,<sup>2</sup> whom I knew at Magdalen College, a fellow-commoner, my fellow-pupil, but one with whom I had no great acquaintance, he being then, God knows, much above me. Here I was afresh delighted with Mr. Povy's house and pictures of perspective, being strange things to think how they do delude one's eye, that methinks it would make a man doubtful of swearing that ever he saw anything.

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<sup>1</sup> James Huysman, a native of Antwerp, who settled in London, and attained considerable eminence as a painter. His portraits are still highly valued. He died in 1696.

<sup>2</sup> Described in the Magdalen College Register as John Skeffington, son of Sir Richard Skeffington, Knt., of Coventry, admitted a Pensioner, September 19th, 1649, and in April, 1651, made Fellow-Commoner. Sir John Skeffington married Mary, only daughter and heir of Sir John Clotworthy, who was, in 1660, created Viscount Masserene, of Ireland, with remainder to his son-in-law, Sir John Skeffington, who succeeded as second Viscount in 1665, and died in 1695.



22nd. To the 'Change at noon, and among other things discoursed with Sir W. Warren what I might do to get a little money by carrying of deales to Tangier, and told him the opportunity I have there of doing it, and he did give me some advice, though not so good as he would have done at any other time of the year, but such as I hope to make good use of. So home, where I found my wife not well, and she tells me she thinks she is with child, but I neither believe nor desire it. But God's will be done! Home to bed; having got a strange cold in my head, by flinging off my hat<sup>1</sup> at dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

23rd. My cold and pain in my head increasing, and the palate of my mouth falling, I was in great pain all night. At last up, and amongst others comes Mr. Fuller, that was the wit of Cambridge, and Prævaricator<sup>2</sup> in my time, and staid all the morning with me discoursing, and his business to get a man discharged, which I did do for him. To the office, where Sir G.

<sup>1</sup> In Lord Clarendon's Essay "On the decay of respect paid to Age," he says, that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, except at dinner.

<sup>2</sup> At the Commencement (Comitia Majora) in July, the Prævaricator, or Varier, held a similar position to the Tripos at the Comitia Minora. He was so named from *varying* the question which he proposed, either by a play upon the words or by the transposition of the terms in which it was expressed. Under the pretence of maintaining some philosophical question, he poured out a medley of absurd jokes and personal ridicule, which gradually led to the abolition of the office. In Thoresby's "Diary" we read, "Tuesday, July 6th. The Prævaricator's speech was smart and ingenious, attended with vollics of hurras." See Wordsworth's "University Life in the Eighteenth Century." (M. B.)

Carteret and we met about an order of the Council for the hiring him a house, giving him 1,000*l.* fine, and 70*l.* per annum for it. Here Sir J. Minnes took occasion, in the most childish and most unbeseeming manner, to reproach us all, but most himself, that he was not valued as Comptroller among us, nor did anything but only set his hand to paper, which is but too true ; and every body had a palace, and he no house to lie in, and wished he had but as much to build him a house with, as we have laid out in carved worke. It was to no end to oppose, but all bore it, and after laughed at him for it. So home, and late reading "The Siege of Rhodes" to my wife, and then to bed.

24th. After dinner comes one Phillips, who is concerned in the Lottery, and from him I collected much concerning that business. He told me that Monsieur Du Puy, that is so great a man at the Duke of York's, and this man's great opponent, is a knave and by quality but a tailor. To the Tangier Committee, and there I opposed Coll. Legg's estimate of supplies of provisions to be sent to Tangier till all were ashamed of it, and he fain after all his good husbandry and seeming ignorance and joy to have the King's money saved, yet afterwards he discovered all his design to be to keep the furnishing of these things to the officers of the Ordnance, but Mr. Coventry seconded me, and between us we shall save the King some money in the year. In one business of deals in 520*l.*, I offer to save 172*l.*, and yet purpose getting money to myself by it. We were told to-day of a Dutch ship of 3 or 400

tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gottenburgh.

25th (Lord's day). Up, and my throat being yet very sore, and my head out of order, we went not to church, but spent all the morning reading of "The Madd Lovers,"<sup>1</sup> a very good play. Read another play, "The Custome of the Country,"<sup>1</sup> which is a very poor one, methinks.

26th. My mind a little troubled that I have not of late kept up myself so briske in business, but mind my ease a little too much and my family upon the coming of Mercer and Tom; but now I resolve to settle to it again, not that I have idled all my time, but as to my ease something. So I have looked a little too much after Tangier and the Fishery, and that in the sight of Mr. Coventry, but I have good reason to love myself for serving Tangier, for it is one of the best flowers in my garden.

28th. After dinner to White Hall, thinking to have met at a committee of Tangier, but nobody being there but my Lord Rutherford, he would needs carry me and another Scotch Lord to a play, and so we saw, coming late, part of "The Generall,"<sup>2</sup> my Lord Orrery, Broghill's,<sup>3</sup> second play; but, Lord! to see how no more either in words, sense, or design, it is to

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<sup>1</sup> Both plays probably by Fletcher only. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Shirley has a prologue "to a play in Ireland called 'The General,'" which, Mr. Dyce observes, "was probably never printed. A tragi-comedy under this title was in the library of Dr. Farmer, and afterwards in that of Mr. Reed." — SHIRLEY'S *Works*, vol. vi. p. 495.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery, 1660. (M. B.)

his "Harry the 5th" is not imaginable, and so poorly acted, though in finer clothes, is strange. And here I must confess breach of a vowe in appearance, but I not desiring it, but against my will, and my oathe being to go neither at my own charge nor at another's, as I had done by becoming liable to give them another, as I am to Sir W. Pen and Mr. Creed; but here I neither know which of them paid for me, nor, if I did, am I obliged ever to return the like, or did it by desire or with any willingness. So that with a safe conscience I do think my oathe is not broke and judge that God Almighty will not think it otherwise. So home, and find Mercer playing on her Vyall, which is a pretty instrument, and so I to the Vyall and singing till late and so to bed. My mind at a great losse how to go down to Brampton this weeke, to satisfy Pigott; but what with the fears of my house, my money, my wife, and my office, I know not how in the world to think of it, Tom Hater being out of towne, and I having near 1,000*l.* in my house.

29th. After dinner to Sir G. Carteret, and with him to his new house he is taking in Broad Streete, and there surveyed all the rooms and bounds, in order to the drawing up a lease thereof; and that done, Mr. Cutler, his landlord, took me up and down, and showed me all his ground and house, which is extraordinary great, he having bought all the Augustine Fryers, and many, many a 1,000*l.* he hath and will bury there. Fresh newes come of our beating the Dutch at Guinny quite out of all their castles almost, which

will make them quite mad here at home sure. And Sir G. Carteret did tell me, that the King do joy mightily at it; but asked him laughing, "But," says he, "how shall I do to answer this to the Ambassador when he comes?" Nay they say that we have beat them out of the New Netherlands<sup>1</sup> too; so that we have been doing them mischief for a great while in several parts of the world, without publique knowledge or reason. Their fleete for Guinny is now, they say, ready, and abroad, and will be going this week. Coming home to-night, I did go to examine my wife's accounts, and finding things that seemed somewhat doubtful, I was angry though she did make it pretty plain, but confessed that when she do misse a sum, she do add something to other things to make it, and, upon my being very angry, she do protest she will

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<sup>1</sup> Captain (afterwards Sir Robert) Holmes' expedition to attack the Dutch settlements in Africa eventuated in an important exploit. Holmes suddenly left the coast of Africa, sailed across the Atlantic, and reduced the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands to English rule, under the title of New York. "The short and true state of the matter is this: the country mentioned was part of the province of Virginia; and as there is no settling an extensive country at once, a few Swedes crept in there, who surrendered the plantations they could not defend to the Dutch, who having bought the charts and papers of one Hudson, a seaman, who, by commission from the crown of England, discovered a river, to which he gave his name, conceited they had purchased a province. Sometimes, when we had strength in those parts, they were English subjects; at others, when that strength declined, they were subjects of the United Provinces. However, upon King Charles's claim the States disowned the title, but resumed it during our confusions. On March 12th, 1663-4, Charles II. granted it to the Duke of York. . . . The King sent Holmes, when he returned, to the Tower, and did not discharge him, till he made it evidently appear that he had not infringed the law of nations." (Campbell's "Naval Hist." ii. 89.) How little did the King or Holmes himself foresee the effects of the capture!

here lay up something herself to buy her a necklace with, which madded me and do still trouble me, for I fear she will forget by degrees the way of living cheap and under a sense of want.

30th. At my accounts, it being a great month, both for profit and layings out, the last being 89*l.* for kitchen and clothes for myself and wife, and a few extraordinaryes for the house ; and my profits, besides salary, 239*l.* ; so that I have this weeke, notwithstanding great layings out, and preparations for laying out, which I make as paid this month, my balance to come to 1,203*l.*, for which the Lord's name be praised ! Late home to supper and to bed, with my heart in good rest for this day's work, though troubled to think that my last month's negligence besides the making me neglect business and spend money, and lessen myself both as to business and the world and myself, I am fain to preserve my vowe by paying 20*s.* true money into the poor's box, because I had not fulfilled all my memorandums and paid all my petty debts and received all my petty credits, of the last month, but I trust in God I shall do so no more.

October 1st. We go now on with great vigour in preparing against the Dutch, who, they say, will now fall upon us without doubt upon this high newes come of our beating them so wholly in Guinny.<sup>1</sup>

2nd (Lord's day). My wife not being well to go to church I walked with my boy through the City, put-

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<sup>1</sup> See " Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 32.

ting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture<sup>1</sup> usually put before the King's book, put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's day at the Mouth at Bishopsgate ; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to aske for the place, so I walked over Moorefields, and thence to Clerkenwell church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still ; and one I do very much admire myself for my choice of her for a beauty, she having the best lower part of her face, that ever I saw all days of my life. After church I walked to my Lady Sandwich's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn ; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work. So I dined with my Lady, and the same innocent discourse that we used to have, only after dinner, being alone, she asked me my opinion about Creed, whether he would have a wife or no, and what he was worth, and proposed Mrs. Wright for him, which, she says, she heard he was once inquiring after. She desired I would take a good time and manner of proposing it, and I said I would, though I believed he would love nothing but money, and much was not to be expected there, she said. So away back to Clerkenwell Church,

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<sup>1</sup> There were similar portraits of Charles 1st, in oil painting, in St. Michael's Church, Cambridge, and St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate. See "Notes and Queries," 1st series, vol. i. pp. 137, 184. (M. B.)



thinking to have got sight of la belle Boteler again, but failed, and so after church walked all over the fields home, and there my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties, she told me plainly, so I made all peace, and to supper. This evening came Mrs. Lane (now Martin) with her husband to desire my helpe about a place for him. It seems poor Mr. Daniel is dead of the Victualling Office, a place too good for the puppy to follow him in. But I did give him the best words I could, and so after drinking a glasse of wine sent them going, but with great kindnesse.

3rd. With Sir J. Minnes, by coach, to St. James's ; and there all the newes now of very hot preparations for the Dutch : and being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to make a tripp himself, and that Sir W. Pen should go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me ! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talke also of great haste in the getting out another fleete, and building some ships ; and now it is likely we have put one another by each other's dalliance past a retreate. After dinner down to Deptford, where I found Mr. Coventry, and there we made an experiment of Holland's and our cordage, and ours outdid it a great deale. Mr. Bland came this night to me to take his leave of me, he going to Tangier, wherein I wish him good succeſse.

4th. This morning Sir W. Pen went to Chatham to

look after the ships now going out thence, and particularly that wherein the Duke and himself go. He took Sir G. Ascue with him, whom, I believe, he hath brought into play. After dinner to a play, to see "The Generall;" which is so dull and so ill-acted, that I think it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley; who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dullness of the poet and badness of the action, that most pertinently; which I was mightily taken with; and among others where by Altemire's command Clarimont, the Generall, is commanded to rescue his Rivall, whom she loved, Lucidor, he, after a great deal of demurre, broke out, "Well, I'll save my Rivall and make her confess, that I deserve, while he do but possesse." "Why, what," says Sir Charles Sedley, "would he have him have more, or what is there more to be had of a woman than possessing her?" I home with my wife and Mercer, vexed at my losing my time and above 20s. in money, and neglecting my business to see so bad a play. Tomorrow they told us should be acted, or the day after, a new play, called "The Parson's Dreame," acted all by women.

5th. By coach to New Bridewell to meet with Mr. Poyntz to discourse with him (being Master of the Workhouse there) about making of Bewpers for us. But he was not within, however his clerke did lead me up and down through all the house, and there I did with great pleasure see the many pretty works, and

the little children employed, every one to do something, which was a very fine sight, and worthy encouragement. I cast away a crowne among them, and so to the 'Change and among the Linnen Wholesale Drapers to enquire about Callicos, to see what can be done with them for the supplying our want of Bewpers for flaggs, and I think I shall do something therein to good purpose for the King. So to the Coffee-house, and there fell in discourse with the Secretary<sup>1</sup> of the Virtuosi of Gresham College, and had very fine discourse with him. He tells me of a new invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it. So to Trinity House, and there I dined among the dull old fellows. So home, and then comes Mr. Cocker to see me, and I discoursed with him about his writing and ability of sight, and how I shall do to get some glasse or other to helpe my eyes by candlelight; and he tells me he will bring me the helps he hath within a day or two, and shew me what he do. Thence to the Musique-meeting at the Post-office, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was brought called the Arched Viall, where being tuned with lute-strings, and played on with kees like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the kees are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Oldenburgh.

so it is intended to resemble several vyalls played on with one bow, but so basely and harshly, that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune ; and so they were fain to go to some other musique of instruments. This morning, by three o'clock, the Prince<sup>1</sup> and King, and Duke with him, went down the River, and the Prince under sail the next tide after, and so is gone from the Hope. God give him better successe than he used to have !

7th. To my office, and there came Mr. Cocker, and brought me a globe of glasse, and a frame of oyled paper, as I desired, to show me the manner of his gaining light to grave by, and to lessen the glaringnesse of it at pleasure by an oyled paper. This I bought of him, giving him a crowne for it ; and so, well satisfied, he went away.

8th. After dinner abroad, and among other things contracted with one Mr. Bridges, at the White Bear on Cornhill, for 100 pieces of Callico to make flaggs ; and as I know I shall save the King money, so I hope to get a little for my pains and venture of my money myself.

9th (Lord's day). Mr. Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming to me about what he was with me lately, to release a waterman, he told me he was to preach at Barking Church ;<sup>2</sup> and so I to heare him, and he preached well and neatly. Thence, it being

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<sup>1</sup> Rupert.

<sup>2</sup> Barking Church. Allhallows.

time enough, to our owne church, and there staid wholly privately at the great doore to gaze upon a pretty lady, and I think her to be one of the prettiest women I ever saw. To bed without prayers, it being cold, and to-morrow washing day.

10th. Sir W. Pen do grow every day more and more regarded by the Duke, because of his service heretofore in the Dutch warr, which I am confident is by some strong obligations he hath laid upon Mr. Coventry; for Mr. Coventry must needs know that he is a man of very mean parts, but only a bred seaman. Sir W. Batten do raile still against Mr. Turner and his wife, telling me he is a false fellow, and his wife a false woman, and has rotten teeth and false, set in with wire, and as I know they are so, so I am glad he finds it so. To the 'Change, and there with Sir W. Warren to the Coffee-house behind the 'Change, and discourse how to carry myself to advantage to contract no envy and yet make the world see my pains; which was with great content to me, and a good friend and helpe I am like to find him, for which God be thanked! Sat up till past twelve at night to look over the account of the collections for the Fishery, and the loose and base manner that monies so collected are disposed of in, would make a man never part with a penny in that manner, and, above all, the inconvenience of having a great man, though never so seeming pious as my Lord Pembroke<sup>1</sup> is. He is too

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Herbert, fifth Earl, *ob.* 1669.

great to be called to an account, and is abused by his servants, and yet obliged to defend them for his owne sake. This day, by the blessing of God, my wife and I have been married nine years: but my head being full of business, I did not think of it to keep it in any extraordinary manner. But bless God for our long lives and loves and health together, which the same God long continue, I wish, from my very heart!

11th. Luellin tells me what an obscene loose play this "Parson's Wedding" is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house. To the Fishery in Thames Street, and there several good discourses about the letting of the Lotterys, and, among others, one Sir Thomas Clifford, whom yet I knew not, do speak very well and neatly. My wife tells me the sad news of my Lady Castlemaine's being now become so decayed, that one would not know her; at least far from a beauty, which I am sorry for. This day, with great joy Captain Titus told us the particulars of the French's expedition against Gigeri upon the Barbary Coast, in the Straights, with 6,000 chosen men.<sup>2</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> A comedy, by Thomas Killigrew, traceable to Calderon's *Dama Duende*. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Colbert, in his desire to establish French colonies, wished to found one on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. For this purpose the Duc de Beaufort, High Admiral of France, took possession, on the 22nd July, 1664, of Gigeri, in the province of Bugia, and he placed a garrison there under the command of Lieutenant-General Guadagni. The Duke had scarcely retired before the Moors attacked the place in great force, and with such success that Guadagni thought himself happy in evacuating it with safety. He embarked on the night of the 29th October, abandoning his artillery and stores. The regiment of Picardy perished by shipwreck.



have taken the Fort of Gigery, wherein were five men and three guns, which makes the whole story of the King of France's policy and power to be laughed at.

12th. For newes, all say De Ruyter is gone to Guinny before us. Sir J. Lawson is come to Portsmouth ; and our fleete is hastening all speed : I mean this new fleete. Prince Rupert with his is got into the Downes. After dinner I out to Mr. Bridges, the linnen draper, and evened with him for 100 pieces of callico, and did give him 208*l.* 18*s.*, which I now trust the King for, but hope both to save the King money and to get a little by it to boot. Thence by water up and down all the timber yards to look some Dram timber, but can find none for our turne at the price I would have.

13th. After being at the office all the morning, home and dined, and taking leave of my wife with my mind not a little troubled how she would look after herself or house in my absence, especially, too, leaving a considerable sum of money in the office, I by coach to the Red Lyon in Aldersgate Street, and there, by agreement, met W. Joyce and Tom Trice, and mounted, I upon a very fine mare that Sir W. Warren helps me to, and so very merrily rode till it was very darke, I leading the way through the darke to Welling,<sup>1</sup> and there, not being very weary, to supper and to bed. In this day's journey I met with Mr. White, Cromwell's chaplin that was, and had a

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<sup>1</sup> Welwyn.



great deale of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publiquely that he do correspond, and return him all his money. That Richard hath been in some straits at the beginning ; but relieved by his friends. That he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. He tells me, for certain, that offers had been made to the old man,<sup>1</sup> of marriage between the King and his daughter, to have obliged him, but he would not. He thinks (with me) that it never was in his power to bring in the King with the consent of any of his officers about him ; and that he scorned to bring him in as Monk did, to secure himself and deliver every body else. When I told him of what I found writ in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbriere,<sup>2</sup> that gives an account of his observations here in England ; among other things he says, that it is reported that Cromwell did, in his life-time, transpose many of the bodies of the Kings of England from one grave to

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Sorbière, who, after studying divinity and medicine at Paris, travelled in different parts of Europe, and published his voyage into England, described by Voltaire as a dull scurrilous satire upon a nation of which the author knew nothing. Ob. 1670. It is not clear whether he invented or only repeated the story here related ; but the discovery of Charles the First's coffin, in 1813, has removed all doubt upon the subject ; and, indeed, how any could have arisen seems extraordinary, considering that several persons were present at the interment, and that we have also Sir T. Herbert's testimony as to the fact in his published Memoirs. See also Diary, 26th February, 1665-66, when Pepys was shown the place where the King was buried in St. George's Chapel, and Fuller's " Church History," book xi. p. 327.

another, and that by that means it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell, or of one of the Kings; Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

14th. Up by break of day, and got to Brampton by three o'clock, where my father and mother overjoyed to see me, my mother ready to weepe every time she looked upon me. After dinner my father and I to the Court, and there did all our business to my mind. So home, and after supper I to bed.

15th. My father and I up and walked alone to Hinchinbroke; and among the other late chargeable works that my Lord hath done there, we saw his water-works and the Ora, which is very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein. Back to my father's and there breakfasted. Then taking leave, W. Joyce and I set out, calling T. Trice at Bugden, and thence got by night to Stevenage, and there mighty merry, though I in bed more weary than the other two days, which, I think, proceeded from our galloping so much; but I find that a coney skin in my breeches preserves me perfectly from galling.

16th (Lord's day). It raining, we set out, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time;

and I 'light and saw my simple Lord Salisbury<sup>1</sup> sit there in his gallery. Staid not in the Church, but thence mounted again and to Barnett by the end of sermon, and there dined at the Red Lyon.<sup>2</sup> Thence home by four o'clock, weary, but very well.

18th. We made a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for 3,000 load of timber. In the afternoon to the Fishery, where, very confused and very ridiculous, my Lord Craven's proceedings, especially his finding fault with Sir J. Collaton<sup>3</sup> and Coll. Griffin's<sup>4</sup> report in the accounts of the lottery-men. Thence I with Mr. Gray in his coach to White Hall, but the King and Duke being abroad, we returned to Somerset House. In discourse I find him a very worthy and studious gentleman in the business of trade, and among other things he observed well to me, how it is not the greatest wits, but the steady man, that is a good merchant: he instanced in Ford and Cocke,

<sup>1</sup> See his character in Clarendon. He was at this time seventy-four years of age.

<sup>2</sup> Still existing.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Collaton, or Colladon, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, physician in ordinary to the King, was knighted at Somerset House, 8th of August, 1664.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Griffin, of Braybrooke, in Northamptonshire, at this time Lieutenant-Colonel in the Duke of York's regiment of Foot Guards, now called the Coldstreams. He was raised to the peerage in 1688, by the title of Lord Griffin, and followed the fortunes of his royal master after the Revolution and was outlawed. Being taken prisoner in the attempted invasion of Scotland in 1708, he was committed to the Tower, and died there in confinement in November, 1710. He married Lady Essex Howard, eldest daughter and one of the two co-heirs of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk. Their grandson, Edward, third Lord Griffin, dying, *s. p. m.*, in 1742, the title became extinct.

the last of whom he values above all men as his oracle. He says that it is concluded among merchants, that where a trade hath once been and do decay, it never recovers again, and therefore that the manufacture of cloth of England will never come to esteem again; that, among other faults, Sir Richard Ford cannot keepe a secret, and that it is so much the part of a merchant to be guilty of that fault that the Duke of York is resolved to commit no more secrets to the merchants of the Royall Company; that Sir Ellis Layton is, for a speech of forty words, the wittiest man that ever he knew in his life, but longer he is nothing, his judgment being nothing at all, but his wit most absolute. At Somersett House he carried me in, and there I saw the Queene's new rooms, which are most stately and nobly furnished; and there I saw her and the Duke of York and Duchesse. The Duke espied me, and came to me, and talked with me a very great while about our contract this day with Sir W. Warren.

19th. Dined at home; then abroad by coach to buy for the office "Herne upon the Statute of Charitable Uses," in order to the doing something better in the Chest than we have done, for I am ashamed to see Sir W. Batten possess himself so long of so much money as he has done. Coming home, weighed my two silver flaggons at Stevens's. They weigh 212 oz. 27 dwt., which is about 50*l.*, at 5*s.* per oz., and then they judge the fashion to be worth above 5*s.* per oz. more — nay, some say 10*s.* an ounce the fashion.

Sorry to see the fashion is worth so much, and the silver come to no more.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich at his lodgings, and after a little stay away with Mr. Cholmely to Fleete Streete, in the way he telling me that Tangier is like to be in a bad condition with this same Fitzgerald, he being a man of no honour, nor presence, nor little honesty, and endeavours to raise the Irish and suppress the English interest there, and offend every body, and do nothing that I hear of well, which I am sorry for. Thence home, taking two silver tumblers home, which I have bought.

21st. To Sir W. Turner's, and there bought my cloth, coloured, for a suit and cloake, to line with plush the cloake, which will cost me money, but I find that I must go handsomely, whatever it costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruit it brings. To the office all the afternoon, whither comes W. Howe to see me, being come from, and going presently back to sea with my Lord. Among other things he tells me Mr. Creed is much out of favour with my Lord from his freedom of talke and bold carriage, and other things with which my Lord is not pleased. But, however, a very unworthy rogue he is, and, therefore, let him go for one good for nothing, though wise to the height above most men I converse with. In the evening comes Mr. Martin, to trouble me again to get him a Lieutenant's place, for which he is as fit as a foole can be. But I put him off like an asse, as he is.

23rd (Lord's day). Up and to church. At noon

comes unexpected Mr. Fuller, the minister, and dines with me. At night to the office, doing business, and then home to supper. Then a psalm, to prayers, and to bed.

24th. To St. James's, and there did our business, and I had the good lucke to speak what pleased the Duke about our great contract in hand with Sir W. Warren against Sir W. Batten, wherein the Duke is very earnest for our contracting. Then dined and to the 'Change and thence to a Committee at White Hall of Tangier, where I had the good lucke to speak something to very good purpose about the Mole at Tangier, which was well received even by Sir J. Lawson and Mr. Cholmeley, the undertakers against whose interest I spoke ; that I believe I shall be valued for it. Thence into the galleries to talk with my Lord Sandwich ; among other things, about the Prince's writing up to tell us of the danger he and his fleete lie in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the Dutch ; which, my Lord said, he would never have done, had he lain there with one ship alone : nor is there any great reason for it, because of the sands. However, the fleete will be ordered to go and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much beneath the prowess of the Prince, I think, and the honour of the nation, at the first to be found to secure themselves. My Lord is well pleased to think, that, if the Duke and the Prince go, all the blame of any miscarriage will not light on him ; and that if any thing goes well, he hopes he shall have the share of the glory, for the

Prince is by no means well esteemed of by any body. This day the great O'Neale<sup>1</sup> died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland.

25th. To the Committee of the Fishery, and there did make my report of the late public collections for the Fishery, much to the satisfaction of the Committee, and I think much to my reputation, for good notice was taken of it and much it was commended. So home, in my way taking care of a piece of plate for Mr. Christopher Pett, against the launching of his new great ship to-morrow at Woolwich, which I singly did move to his Royall Highness, and did obtain it for him, to the value of twenty pieces. And he, under his hand, do acknowledge to me that he did never receive so great a kindness from any man in the world as from me herein.

26th. Up, my people rising mighty betimes, to fit themselves to go by water; and my boy, he could not sleep, but wakes about four o'clock, and in bed lay playing on his lute till daylight, and, it seems, did the like last night till twelve o'clock. About eight o'clock, my wife, she and her woman, and Bessy and Jane, and W. Hewer and the boy, to the water-side, and there took boat, and by and by I out of doors, to look after the flaggon, to get it ready to carry to Woolwich. By and by the flaggon finished at the

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel O'Neale, husband to the Countess of Chesterfield. "Mr O'Neale, of the Bedchamber, died yesterday, very rich, and left his old lady all." — *Ed. Savage to Dr. Sancroft*, 25th Oct., 1664. Harl. MS., 3785, fol. 19.



burnisher's, and home, and there fitted myself, and took a hackney-coach I hired, it being a very cold and foule day, to Woolwich, all the way reading in a good book touching the fishery, and that being done, in the book upon the statute of charitable uses, mightily to my satisfaction. At Woolwich; I there up to the King and Duke, and they liked the plate well. Here I staid above with them while the ship<sup>1</sup> was launched, which was done with great success, and the King did very much like the ship, saying, she had the best bow that ever he saw. But Lord! the sorry talke and discourse among the great courtiers round about him, without any reverence in the world, but with so much disorder. By and by the Queene comes and her Mayds of Honour; one whereof, Mrs. Boynton,<sup>2</sup> and the Duchesse of Buckingham had been very sicke coming by water in the barge (the water being very rough); but what silly sport they made with them in very common terms, methought, was very poor, and below what people think these great people say and do. The launching being done, the King and company went down to take barge; and I sent for Mr. Pett,<sup>3</sup> and put the flaggon into the Duke's hand, and he, in

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<sup>1</sup> The Royal Catharine of 82 guns. "It was observed that just upon her launching there appeared a fair rainbow, once the sign of a covenant betwixt God and the world, that it should never perish by water; and we hope it will prove as auspicious to this vessel." — *The Newes*, 27th Oct., 1664. See also Appendix, for the French Ambassador's letter describing the launch.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of Matthew, second son to Sir Matthew Boynton, Bart., of Barnston, Yorkshire. She became the first wife of Richard Talbot, afterwards Duke of Tyrconnel.

<sup>3</sup> He had built the ship.

the presence of the King, did give it Mr. Pett, taking it upon his knee. This Mr. Pett is wholly beholding to me for, and he do know and I believe will acknowledge it. By and by I took coach after I had enquired for my wife or her boat, but found none. Going out of the gate, an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London, which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read, as long as I could see, my book again. Dark when we came to London, and a stop of coaches in Southwarke. I staid above half an houre and then 'light, and finding Sir W. Batten's coach, heard they were gone into the Beare at the Bridge foot, and thither I to them. Presently the stop is removed, and then going out to find my coach, I could not find it, for it was gone with the rest; so I fain to go through the darke and dirt over the bridge, and my leg fell in a hole broke on the bridge, but, the constable standing there to keep people from it, I was catched up, otherwise I had broke my leg; for which mercy the Lord be praised! So at Fenchurch I found my coach staying for me, and so home, where the little girle hath looked to the house well, but no wife come home, which made me begin to fear for her, the water being very rough, and cold and darke. But by and by she and her company come in all well, at which I was glad, though angry. Thence I to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat late with him, Sir R. Ford, and Sir John Robinson; the last of whom continues still the same foole he was, crying up what power he has in the City, in

knowing their temper, and being able to do what he will with them. It seems the City did last night very freely lend the King 100,000*l.* without any security but the King's word, which was very noble. But this loggerhead and Sir R. Ford would make us believe that they did it. Now Sir R. Ford is a cunning man, and makes a foole of the other. But, Lord ! to think that such a man should be Lieutenant of the Tower, and so great a man as he is, is a strange thing to me.

27th. At noon, Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, were treated at the Dolphin by Mr. Foly,<sup>1</sup> the ironmonger, where a good plain dinner, but I expected musique, the missing of which spoiled my dinner, only very good merry discourse at dinner.

28th. My tailor brings me home my fine, new, coloured cloth suit, my cloake lined with plush, as good a suit as ever I wore in my life, and mighty neat, to my great content. At noon to Nellson's, and there bought 20 pieces more of Bewpers, and hope to go on with him to a contract.

29th. Up, and it being my Lord Mayor's<sup>2</sup> show, my boy and three mayds went out ; but it being a very foule, rainy day, from morning till night, I was sorry my wife let them go out. All the talke is that De

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Foley, afterwards of Witley Court. He was the grandfather of the first Lord Foley, and died on the 1st of October, 1677, aged 59. His portrait is engraved in Nash's "History of Worcestershire."

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Laurence. The King and Queen were at the banquet. — *The Intelligencer*, 31st Oct., 1664.

Ruyter is come over-land home with six or eight of his captaines to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Straights ; which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

30th (Lord's day). Up, and this morning put on my new, fine, coloured cloth suit, with my cloake lined with plush, which is a dear and noble suit, costing me about 17*l*. To church, and after dinner to a little musique with my boy, and so to church with my wife, and all the evening reading and at musique with my boy with great pleasure, and so to supper, prayers, and to bed.

31st. To a Committee of Tangier, where it is worth remembering when Mr. Coventry proposed the retrenching some of the charge of the horse, the first word asked by the Duke of Albemarle was, "Let us see who commands them," there being three troops. One of them he calls to mind was by Sir Toby Bridges.<sup>1</sup> "Oh !" says he, "there is a very good man. If you must reform<sup>2</sup> two of them, be sure let him command the troop that is left." Till past one in the morning making up my month's accounts, and find that my expense this month in clothes has kept me from laying up anything ; but I am no worse, but a little better than I was, which is 1,205*l*., a great sum, the Lord be

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read Sir Thomas Bridges, made a K. B. at the Restoration. — KENNETT'S *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Reform*, i.e. disband. See "Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," Sept. 2nd, 1651. "A great many younger brothers and *reformed* officers of the King's army depended upon him for their meat and drink." So *reformato*, a discharged or disbanded officer. (M. B.)

praised for it! So home to bed, with my mind full of content therein, and vexed for my being so angry in bad words to my wife to-night, she not giving me a good account of her layings out to my mind. This day I hear young Mr. Stanly, a brave young gentleman, that went out with young Jermin, with Prince Rupert, is already dead of the small-pox, at Portsmouth. All preparations against the Dutch; and the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to go to the fleete which is hastening for him; being now resolved to go in the Charles.

November 1st. To the Committee of the Fishery, and there we sat with several good discourses and some bad and simple ones, and with great disorder, and yet by the men of business of the towne. But my report of the business of the collections is mightily commended and will get me some reputation, and indeed is the only thing looks like a thing well done since we sat.

2nd. With Mr. Castle to Redriffe, and there walked to Deptford to view a parcel of brave knees of his, which indeed are very good, and so back again home, I seeming very friendly to him, though I know him to be a rogue, and one that hates me with his heart.

3rd. To the office, where strange to see how Sir W. Pen is flocked to by people of all sorts against his going to sea. This night Sir W. Batten did tell me strange newes, which troubles me, that my Lord Sandwich will be sent Governor to Tangier, which, in some

respects, indeed, I should be glad of, for the good of the place and the safety of his person ; but I think his honour will suffer, and, it may be, his interest fail by his distance.

4th. To St. James's, where I find Mr. Coventry full of business, packing up for his going to sea with the Duke. Walked with him, talking, to White Hall, where to the Duke's lodgings, who is gone thither to lodge lately. Talking about the management of our office, Mr. Coventry tells me the weight of dispatch will lie chiefly on me, and told me freely his mind touching Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, the latter of whom, he most aptly said, was like a lapwing ; that all he did was to keepe a flutter, to keepe others from the nest that they would find. He told me an old story of the former about the light-houses, how just before he had certified to the Duke against the use of them, and what a burden they are to trade, and presently after, at his being at Harwich, comes to desire that he might have the setting one up there, and gets the usefulness of it certified also by the Trinity House. After long discoursing and considering all our stores and other things, as how the King hath resolved upon Captain Taylor and Coll. Middleton, the first to be Commissioner for Harwich and the latter for Portsmouth, home to dinner, and Mr. Duke, our Secretary for the Fishery, dined with me. After dinner by water among the smiths on the other side, and to the ale-house with one and was near buying 4 or 5 anchors, and learned something worth my knowing of them,

and so home and to my office with my head very full of business.

5th. To the Duke's house to a play, "Macbeth,"<sup>1</sup> a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

6th (Lord's day). Up and with my wife to church. Dined at home. At night, to supper with my uncle Wight, where very merry, and so home. To prayers and to bed.

7th. To White Hall, where mighty thrusting about the Duke now upon his going. We were with him long. He advised us to follow our business close, and to be directed in his absence by the Committee of the Councill for the Navy. By and by a meeting of the Fishery, where the Duke was, but in such haste, and things looked so superficially over, that I had not a fit opportunity to propose my paper that I wrote yesterday, but I see the greatest businesses are done so superficially that I wonder anything succeeds at all among us, that is publique. Thence somewhat vexed to see myself frustrated in the good I hoped to have done and a little reputation to have gained, I to my Lady Sandwich's, and there met my wife and dined, but I find that I dine as well myself, that is, as neatly, and my meat as good and well-dressed, as my good Lady do, in the absence of my Lord.

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<sup>1</sup> As altered by Davenant.



8th. To the office, where by and by Mr. Coventry came, and after doing a little business, took his leave of us, being to go to sea with the Duke to-morrow. At noon, I and Sir J. Minnes and Lord Barkeley (who with Sir J. Duncum,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Chichly, are made Masters of the Ordnance), to the office of the Ordnance, to discourse about wadding for guns. Thence to dinner, all of us to the Lieutenant's of the Tower: where a good dinner, but disturbed in the middle of it, by the King's coming into the Tower: and so we broke up, and to him, and went up and down the store-houses and magazines; which are, with the addition of the new great store-house, a noble sight. This day, Mr. Lever sent my wife a pair of silver candlesticks, very pretty ones. The first man that ever presented me, to whom I have not only done little service, but apparently did him the greatest disservice in his business of accounts, as Purser-Generall, of any man at the board.

9th. Called up, as I had appointed, between two and three o'clock, and I and my boy Tom by water with a gally down to the Hope, it being a fine starry night. Got thither by eight o'clock, and there, as expected, found the Charles, her mainmast setting. Commissioner Pett aboard. I up and down to see the ship I was so well acquainted with, and a great worke it is, the setting so great a mast. Thence the Commissioner and I on board Sir G. Ascue, in the Henery, who lacks men mightily, which makes me

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<sup>1</sup> M. P. for Bury St. Edmund's.

think that there is more believed to be in a man that hath heretofore been employed than truly there is ; for one would never have thought, a month ago, that he would have wanted 1,000 men at his heels. Nor do I think he hath much of a seaman in him : for he told me, says he, " Heretofore, we used to find our ships clean and ready, everything to our hands in the Downes. Now I come, and must look to see things done like a slave, things that I never minded, nor cannot look after." And by his discourse I find that he hath not minded anything in her at all. Thence not staying, the wind blowing hard, I made use of the Jemmy yacht and returned to the Tower in her, my boy being a very droll boy and good company. Home and eat something, and then shifting myself, and to White Hall, and there the King being in his Cabinet Council (I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret), I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretaries, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

10th. Up, and not finding my things ready, I was so angry with Besse as to bid my wife bid her provide herself a place, for though she be very good-natured, she has no care nor memory of her business at all. So abroad, intending to have spoke with my Lord

Chancellor about the old business of his wood at Clarendon, but could not. My little girle Susan is fallen sicke of the meazles, we fear, or, at least, of a scarlett fevour.

11th. To the Council Chamber at White Hall, to the Committee of the Lords for the Navy, where we were made to wait an houre or two, before called in. In that time looking upon some books of heraldry of Sir Edward Walker's making, which are very fine, there I observed the Duke of Monmouth's armes are neatly done, and his title, "The most noble and high-born Prince, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, &c.;" nor could Sir J. Minnes, nor any body there, tell whence he should take the name of Scott.<sup>1</sup> And then I found my Lord Sandwich, his title under his armes is, "The most noble and mighty Lord, Edward, Earl of Sandwich, &c." Sir Edward Walker afterwards coming in, in discourse did say that there was none of the families of princes in Christendom that do derive themselves so high as Julius Cæsar, nor so far by 1,000 years, that can directly prove their rise; only some in Germany do derive themselves from the patrician families of Rome, but that uncertainly; and, among other things, did much inveigh against the writing of romances, that 500 years hence being wrote

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<sup>1</sup> He had married Lady Anne Scott, daughter and sole heir of Francis, Earl of Buccleugh. On their marriage the Duke took the surname of Scott, and he and his lady were created Duke and Duchess of Buccleugh. The Duchess took for her second husband Charles, Lord Cornwallis, 1688, and died in the 81st year of her age, Feb. 6th, 1731-32. (M. B.)

of matters in general, as the romance of Cleopatra, the world will not know which is the true and which the false. Here was a gentleman that told us he saw the other day (and did bring the draught of it to Sir Francis Prigeon) a monster born of an hostler's wife at Salisbury, two women children perfectly made, joyned at the lower part of their bellies, and every part perfect as two bodies, and only one payre of legs coming forth on one side from the middle where they were joined. It was alive 24 hours, and cried and did as all hopefull children do; but, being showed too much to people, was killed. To the Council at White Hall, where a great many lords: Annesly<sup>1</sup> in the chair. But, Lord! to see what work they will make us, and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know, when the greatest of our hurry is, is a thing to be lamented; and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. Put on my new shaggy purple gown with gold buttons and loop lace. Among other things Mr. Turner making his complaint to me how my clerks do all the worke and get all the profit, I did make him apprehend how he is beholding to me more than to any body for my suffering him to act as Purveyor of petty provisions, and told him so largely my little value of any body's favour, that I believe he will make no more complaints again a good while.

12th. Up, being frightened that Mr. Coventry was

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<sup>1</sup> Earl of Anglesey. (M. B.)

come to towne and now at the office, so I run down without eating or drinking or washing to the office and it proved my Lord Berkeley. There all the morning and mighty busy till very late, but I bless God I go through with it very well and I hope I shall.

13th (Lord's day). This morning to church, where mighty sport, to hear our clerke sing out of tune, though his master sits by him and keeps the tune aloud for the parish. Spent all the afternoon with my wife within doors, and getting a speech out of Hamlett, "To bee or not to bee," without book. In the evening to sing psalms and in came Mr. Hill to see me and then he and the boy finely to sing and so anon broke up after much pleasure. He gone I to supper and so prayers and to bed.

14th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, to the Lords of the Admiralty, and there did our business betimes. Thence to Sir Philip Warwick about Navy business: and my Lord Ashly; and afterwards to my Lord Chancellor, who is very well pleased with me, and my carrying of his business.<sup>1</sup> And so to the 'Change, where mighty busy; and so home to dinner, where Mr. Creed and Moore: and after dinner I to my Lord Treasurer's, to Sir Philip Warwick there, and then to White Hall, to the Duke of Albemarle, about Tangier; and then homeward to the Coffee-house to hear newes. And it seems the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship

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<sup>1</sup> About the timber in Clarendon Park.

of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her : which appears as the first act of hostility ; and is looked upon as so by Mr. Coventry. The Elias, coming from New England (Captain Hill, commander,) is sunk ; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered in the sea.

15th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, and every where else, I thank God, I find myself growing in repute ; and so home, and late, very late, at business, nobody minding it but myself, and so home to bed, weary and full of thoughts.

16th. This day my wife went to the burial of a little boy of W. Joyce's.

17th. To my office and there all the morning mighty busy and taking upon me to tell the Comptroller how ill his matters were done, and I think indeed if I continue thus all the business of the office will come upon me whether I will or no. This day I received from Mr. Foley, but for me to pay for it, if I like it, an iron chest, having now received back some money I had laid out for the King, and I hope to have a good sum of money by me, thereby, in a few days, I think above 800*l*. But when I came home at night, I could not find the way to open it ; but, which is a strange thing, my little girle Susan could carry it alone from one table clear from the ground and set upon another, when neither I nor anyone in my house but Jane the cook-mayde could do it.

18th. To the Committee of the Fishery at White

Hall, where so poor simple doings about the business of the Lottery, that I was ashamed to see it, that a thing so low and base should have any thing to do with so noble an undertaking. But I had the advantage this day to hear Mr. Williamson discourse, who came to be a contractor with others for the Lotterys, and indeed I find he is a very logicall man and a good speaker. Thence to the 'Change and thence home to dinner and thence to the office a good while and thence to the Council chamber at White Hall to speake with Sir G. Carteret, and here by accident heard a great and famous cause between Sir G. Lane, and one Mr. Phill. Whore, an Irish business about Sir G. Lane's endeavouring to reverse a decree of the late Commissioners of Ireland in a Rebells case for his land, which the King had given as forfeited to Sir G. Lane, for whom the Sollicitor did argue most angell like, and one of the Commissioners, Baron —, did argue for the other and for himself and his brethren who had decreed it. But the Sollicitor do so pay the Commissioners how four all along did act for the Papists, and three only for the Protestants, by which they were overvoted, but at last one word (which was omitted in the Sollicitor's reporting of an Act of Parliament in the case) being insisted on by the other party, the Sollicitor was put to a great stop, and I could discern he could not tell what to say, but was quite out. Thence home well pleased with this accident. This day I had a letter from Mr. Coventry, that tells me that my Lord Brouncker is to be one of



our Commissioners, of which I am very glad, if any more must be.

20th (Lord's day). Up, and with my wife to church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new coloured silk suit laced with silver lace. Dined at home and in private with Mr. Bodham talking of our ropeyarde stores at Woolwich, which are mighty low, even to admiration. They gone, in the evening comes Mr. Andrews and sings with us and he gone, I to Sir W. Batten's, where Sir J. Minnes and he and I to talk about our letter to my Lord Treasurer, where his folly and simple confidence so great in a report so ridiculous that he has drawn up to present to my Lord, nothing of it being true, that I was ashamed, and did roundly and in many words for an houre together talk boldly to him, which pleased Sir W. Batten and my Lady, but I was in the right, and was the willinger to do so before them, that they might see that I am somebody and shall serve him so in his way another time. So home vexed at this night's passage, for I had been very hot with him.

21st. Up, and with them to the Lords at White Hall, where they do single me out to speake to and to hear, much to my content and received their commands, particularly in several businesses. Thence by their order to the Attorney General's about a new warrant for Captain Taylor which I shall carry for him to be Commissioner in spite of Sir W. Batten, and yet indeed it is not I, but the ability of the man, that makes the Duke and Mr. Coventry stand by their

choice. I to the 'Change and there staid long doing business and this day for certain newes is come that Teddiman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bourdeaux fleete, and two men of warr to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon, that three are brought into the Downes and Dover; so that the warr is begun: God give a good end to it!

22nd. Sir G. Carteret, upon a motion of Sir W. Batten's, did promise, if we would write a letter to him, to shew it to the King on our behalf touching our desire of being Commissioners of the Prize office. I wrote a letter to my mind and, after eating a bit, to Sir G. Carteret with the letter and thence to my Lord Treasurer's; where with Sir Philip Warwick long studying all we could to make the last year swell as high as we could. And it is much to see how he do study for the King, to do it to get all the money from the Parliament he can: and I shall be serviceable to him therein, to help him to heads upon which to enlarge the report of the expense. He did observe to me how obedient this Parliament was for awhile, and the last Session how they began to differ, and to carp at the King's officers; and what they will do now, he says, is to make agreement for the money, for there is no guess to be made of it. He told me he was prepared to convince the Parliament that the Subsidys are a most ridiculous tax (the four last not rising to 40,000*l.*), and unequall. He talks of a tax of Assessment of 70,000*l.* for five years; the people to be

secured that it shall continue no longer than there is really a warr; and the charges thereof to be paid. He told me, that one year of the late Dutch warr, cost 1,623,000*l*. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there staid long with Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes, to speak with my lord about our Prize Office business; but, being sicke and full of visitants, we could not speak with him, and so away home. Where Sir Richard Ford did meet us with letters from Holland this day, that it is likely the Dutch fleete will not come out this year; they have not victuals to keep them out, and it is likely they will be frozen before they can get back.<sup>1</sup> Captain Cocke is made Steward for sick and wounded seamen.

23rd. To my office where close all the morning about my Lord Treasurer's accounts. This evening Mr. Holliard came to me and told me that he hath searched my boy and he finds he has a stone in his bladder, which grieves me to the heart, he being a good-natured and well-disposed boy and more that it should be my misfortune to have him come to my house. Sir G. Carteret was here this afternoon; and strange to see how we plot to make the charge of this warr to appear greater than it is, because of getting money.

24th. To a Coffee-house, to drink jocolatte, very good; and so by coach to Westminster, being the first day of the Parliament's meeting. After the House had received the King's speech, and what more he

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<sup>1</sup> If they made the attempt to put to sea.

had to say, delivered in writing, the Chancellor being sicke, it rose, and I with Sir Philip Warwick home and conferred our matters about the charge of the Navy and have more to give him in the excessive charge of this year's expense. I dined with him, and Mr. Povy with us and Sir Edward Pooly, a fine gentleman, and Mr. Chichly, and fine discourse we had and fine talke, being proud to see myself accepted in such company and thought better than I am. To the office, where sat late, begin our sittings now in the afternoon, because of the Parliament; and they being rose, I to my office, where late till almost one o'clock.

25th. At my office all the morning, to prepare an account of the charge we have been put to extraordinary by the Dutch already; and I have brought it to appear 852,700*l.*: but God knows this is only a scare to the Parliament, to make them give the more money. Thence to the Parliament House, and there did give it to Sir Philip Warwick; the House being hot upon giving the King a supply of money. Mr. Jenings tells me the mean manner that Sir Samuel Morland lives near him, in a house he hath bought and laid out money upon, in all to the value of 1,200*l.*, but is believed to be a beggar; and so I ever thought he would be. At Sir W. Batten's I hear that the House has given the King 2,500,000*l.* to be paid for this warr, only for the Navy, in three years' time; which is a joyful thing to all the King's party I see, but was much opposed by Mr. Vaughan and others, that it should be so much.

27th (Lord's day). To church in the morning, then dined at home, and to my office, and there all the afternoon setting right my business of flaggs. In the evening came Mr. Andrews and Hill,<sup>1</sup> and we sung, with my boy, Ravenscroft's 4-part psalms, most admirable musique. After supper fell into the rarest discourse with Mr. Hill about Rome and Italy; but most pleasant that ever I had in my life.

28th. Certain news of our peace made by Captain Allen with Argier; and that the Dutch have sent part of their fleete round by Scotland; and resolve to pay off the rest half-pay, promising the rest in the Spring, hereby keeping their men. But how true this, I know not.

29th. Sir G. Carteret told us what he had said to the King, and how the King inclines to our request of making us Commissioners of the Prize office, but meeting him anon in the gallery, he tells me that my Lord Barkely is angry we should not acquaint him with it, so I found out my Lord and pacified him, but I know not whether he was so in earnest or no, for he looked very frowardly.

30th. To the Committee of the Lords, and there did our business; but, Lord! what a sorry despatch these great persons give to business. Thence to the 'Change, and there hear the certainty and circumstances of the Dutch having called in their fleete and paid their men half-pay, the other to be paid them

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hill, a merchant, whom Pepys describes, in his *Collections of Signs Manual*, as "my friend, who died at Lisbon in 1675."

upon their being ready upon beat of drum to come to serve them again, and in the meantime to have half-pay. This is said. To my monthly accounts, and, bless God ! I find I have increased my last balance though but little ; but I hope ere long to get more. In the meantime praise God for what I have, which is 1,209*l*. So, with my heart glad to see my accounts fall so right in this time of mixing of monies and confusion, I home to bed.

December 2nd. After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Duke's House, and there saw "The Rivalls," which I had seen before ; but the play not good, nor anything but the good actings of Betterton and his wife and Harris. Thence homewards, and the coach broke with us in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and so walked to Fleete Streete, and there took coach and home, and we all to Sir J. Minnes, where good discourse of the late troubles, they knowing things, all of them, very well ; and Cocke, from the King's own mouth, being then entrusted himself, much do know, particularly that the King's credulity to Cromwell's promises, private to him, against the advice of his friends and the certain discovery of the practices and discourses of Cromwell in council by Major Huntingdon<sup>1</sup> did take away his life and nothing else. To my

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<sup>1</sup> According to Clarendon, the officer here alluded to was a major in Cromwell's own regiment of horse, and employed by him to treat with Charles I. whilst at Hampton Court, but being convinced of the insincerity of the proceeding communicated his suspicions to that monarch, and immediately gave up his commission. We hear no more of Huntingdon till the Restoration, when his name occurs, with those of many other officers, who

office, to fit up an account for Povy, wherein I hope to get something. At it till almost two o'clock, then to supper and to bed.

3rd. To White Hall to a Committee of the Fishery ; there only to hear Sir Edward Ford's proposal about farthings, wherein, O God ! to see almost every body interested for him ; only my Lord Anglesey, who is a grave, serious man. My Lord Barkeley was there, but is the most hot, fiery man, in discourse, without any cause, that ever I saw, even to breach of civility to my Lord Anglesey, in his discourse opposing to my Lord's. At last, though without much satisfaction to me, it was voted that it should be requested of the King, and that Sir Edward Ford's proposal is the best yet made. The Duke of York is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleete ; and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory : and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them ; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

4th (Lord's day). In the afternoon to church. So home, and by and by comes Mr. Hill and Andrews, and sung together long and with great content. This day I hear the Duke of York is come to towne, though expected last night, as I observed, but by what hindrance stopped I can't tell.

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tendered their services to the King. His reasons for laying down his commission are printed in Thurloe's "State Papers," and Masere's "Tracts."



5th. Up, and to White Hall with Sir J. Minnes ; and there, among an infinite crowd of great persons, did kiss the Duke's hand ; but had no time to discourse. Thence up and down the gallery, and got my Lord of Albemarle's hand to my bill for Povy, but afterwards was asked some scurvy questions by Povy about my demands, which troubled me, but will do no great hurt I think. Thence vexed home, and by appointment comes my cozen Roger Pepys and Mrs. Turner, and dined with me and very merry we were. To White Hall, and there saw Mr. Coventry come to towne, and, with all my heart, am glad to see him, but could have no talke with him.

6th. To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again, which puts us to new discourse, and to alter our thoughts of the Dutch, as to their want of courage or force. Thence by appointment to the White Horse Taverne in Lumbarde Streete, and there dined with my Lord Rutherford, Povy, Mr. Gauden, Creed, and others, and very merry, and after dinner Povy and I withdrew, and I plainly told him that I was concerned in profit, but very justly, in this business of the Bill that I have been these two or three days about, and he consents to it, and it shall be paid. He tells me how he believes, and in part knows, Creed to be worth 10,000*l.* ; nay, that now and then he hath three or 4,000*l.* in his hands, for which he gives the interest that the King gives, which is ten per cent., and that Creed do come and demand it every three months the interest to be

paid him, which Povy looks upon as a cunning and mean tricke of him ; but for all that, he will do and is very rich.

7th. By coach to my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined with her, and found all well and merry. Thence to White Hall, and we waited on the Duke, who looks better than he did, methinks, before his voyage ; and, I think, a little more stern than he used to do. So home, and there Povy and Creed staid and dined with me ; but I was sorry I had no better cheer for Povy ; for the foole may be useful, and is a cunning fellow in his way, which is a strange one, and that, that I meet not in any other man, nor can describe in him.

9th. This day I had several letters from several places, of our bringing in great numbers of Dutch ships.

10th. At the office all the morning, where comes my Lord Brouncker with his patent in his hand ; at noon I in his coach with him to the 'Change, where he set me down ; a modest civil person he seems to be, but wholly ignorant in the business of the Navy as possible, but I hope to make a friend of him, being a worthy man. Thence after hearing the great newes of so many Dutchmen being brought into Portsmouth and elsewhere, which it is expected shall either put them upon present revenge or despair, I with Sir W. Rider and Cutler to dinner. Yesterday came home, and this night I visited Sir W. Pen, who dissembles great respect and love to me, but I understand him

very well. Major Holmes is come from Guinny, and is now at Plymouth with great wealth, they say.

11th (Lord's day). To church alone in the morning. In the afternoon to the French church, where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson, very handsome, especially in their noses, and sing prettily. I hear a good sermon of the old man, touching duty to parents. Here was Sir Samuel Morland and his lady very fine, with two footmen in new liverys, (the church taking much notice of them,) and going into their coach after sermon with great gazing. So I home, and my cozen, Mary Pepys's husband, comes after me, and told me that out of the money he received some months since he did receive 18*l.* too much, and did now come and give it me, which was very pretty. So home, and there found Mr. Andrews and his lady, a well-bred and a tolerably pretty woman, and by and by Mr. Hill and to singing, and then to supper and to sing again, and so good night. It is a little strange how these Psalms of Ravenscroft after 2 or 3 times singing prove but the same again, though good. No diversity appearing at all almost.

12th. To White Hall, where all of us with the Duke ; Mr. Coventry did privately tell me the reason of his advice against our pretences to the Prize Office, in his letter from Portsmouth, because he knew that the King and the Duke had resolved to put in some Parliament men that have deserved well, and that would needs be obliged, by putting them in. Thence

homeward, called at my bookseller's and bespoke some books against the year out, then to the office, where my Lord Brouncker comes and reads over part of our instructions in the Navy, and I expounded it to him, so he is become my disciple. He gone, comes Cutler to tell us that the King of France hath forbid any canvass to be carried out of his kingdom. This day, to see how things are ordered in the world, I had a command from the Earl of Sandwich, at Portsmouth, not to be forward with Mr. Cholmly and Sir J. Lawson about the Mole at Tangier, because that what I do therein will, because of his friendship to me known, redound against him, as if I had done it upon his score. So I wrote to my Lord my mistake, and am contented to promise never to pursue it more, which goes against my mind with all my heart.

14th. To my bookseller's, and there spoke for several books against New Year's day, I resolving to lay out about 7*l.* or 8*l.*, God having given me some profit extraordinary of late ; and bespoke also some plate, spoons, and forks. I pray God keep me from too great expenses, though these will still be pretty good money. Then to the 'Change, and I home to dinner, where Creed and Mr. Cæsar, my boy's lute master, who plays indeed mighty finely, and after dinner I abroad to and fro, and to-night spoke for some fruit for the country for my father against Christmas, and where should I do it, but at the pretty woman's, that used to stand at the doore in Fenchurch Streete, I having a mind to know her.

15th. Called up very betimes by Mr. Cholmly, and with him a good while about some of his Tangier accounts; and, discoursing of the condition of Tangier, he did give me the whole account of the differences between Fitzgerald and Norwood, which were very high on both sides, but most imperious and base on Fitzgerald's, and yet through my Lord FitzHarding's means, the Duke of York is led rather to blame Norwood and to speake that he should be called home, than be sensible of the other. He is a creature of FitzHarding's, as a fellow that may be done with what he will, and, himself certainly pretending to be General of the King's armies, when Monk dyeth, desires to have as few great or wise men in employment as he can now, but such as he can put in and keep under, which he do this coxcomb Fitzgerald. It seems, of all mankind there is no man so led by another as the Duke is by Lord Muskerry<sup>1</sup> and this FitzHarding. Insomuch, as when the King would have him to be Privy-Purse, the Duke wept, and said, "But, Sir, I must have your promise, if you will have my dear Charles from me, that if ever you have occasion for an army again, I may have him with me; believing him to be the best commander of an army in the world." But Mr. Cholmly thinks, as all other men I meet with do, that he is a very ordinary fellow. It is strange how the Duke also do love naturally, and

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<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of the Earl of Clancarty. He had served with distinction in Flanders, as colonel of an infantry regiment, and was killed on board the Duke of York's ship, in the sea fight, 1665.

affect the Irish<sup>1</sup> above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea, took above two thirds Irish and French. He tells me the King do hate my Lord Chancellor; and that they, that is the King and my Lord FitzHarding, do laugh at him for a dull fellow; and in all this business of the Dutch war do nothing by his advice, hardly consulting him. Only he is a good minister in other respects, and the King cannot be without him; but, above all, being the Duke's father-in-law, he is kept in; otherwise FitzHarding were able to fling down two of him. This, all the wise and grave lords see, and cannot help it; but yield to it. But he bemoans what the end of it may be, the King being ruled by these men, as he hath been all along since his coming; to the razing all the strong-holds in Scotland, and giving liberty to the Irish in Ireland, whom Cromwell had settled all in one corner; who are now able, and it is feared every day a massacre again among them. To the Coffee-house, where great talke of the Comet seen in several places; and, among our men at sea, and by my Lord Sandwich, to whom I intend to write about it to-night. This night I begun to burn wax candles in my closett at the office, to try the charge, and to see whether the smoke offends like that of tallow candles.

16th. By coach with my wife, and bought a look-glasse by the Old Exchange, which costs me 5*l*.

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<sup>1</sup> Because so many of the Irish were Roman Catholics.

5s., and 6s. for the hooks. A very fair glasse. To Mrs. Harman, and there staid and talked in her shop about Anthony Joyce's giving over trade and that he intends to live in lodgings, which is a very mad, foolish thing. She tells me she hears and believes it is because he, being now begun to be called on offices, resolves not to take the new oathe, he having formerly taken the Covenant or Engagement.

17th. To the 'Change, and there, among others, had my first meeting with Mr. L'Estrange, who hath endeavoured several times to speak with me. It is to get, now and then, some newes of me, which I shall, as I see cause, give him. He is a man of fine conversation, I think, but I am sure most courtly and full of compliments. To White Hall to the Committee of Tangier, and then the Fishing. Mr. Povy did in discourse give me a rub about my late bill for money that I did get of him, which vexed me and stuck in my mind all this evening, though I know very well how to cleare myself at the worst. Mighty talke there is of this Comet that is seen a'nights; and the King and Queene did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And to-night I thought to have done so too; but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr. Gray did tell me to-night, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle;<sup>1</sup> and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered 40,000*l.* to make

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<sup>1</sup> To bend, to give way. See note, Sept. 5th, 1666. (M. B.)



a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bourdeaux fleete thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English : in confidence whereof (it coming to Bourdeaux), all the fleete comes out, and so falls into our hands.

18th (Lord's day). To church, where, God forgive me ! I spent most of my time in looking on my new Morena<sup>1</sup> at the other side of the church, an acquaintance of Pegg Pen's. So home to dinner, and then to my chamber to read Ben Jonson's Cataline, a very excellent piece, and so to church again, and thence we met at the office to hire ships, being in great haste and having sent for several masters of ships to come to us. Then home, and there Mr. Andrews and Hill came and we sung finely, and by and by Mr. Fuller, the Parson. At and after supper Mr. Fuller and I told many storys of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my storys of Tom Mallard ; and then to prayers and to bed.

19th. With Sir J. Minnes to White Hall, and there we waited on the Duke. And among other things Mr. Coventry took occasion to vindicate himself before the Duke and us, being all there, about the choosing of Taylor<sup>2</sup> for Harwich. Upon which the Duke did clear him, and did tell us that he did expect, that, after he had named a man, none of us shall then oppose or find fault with the man ; but if we had any-

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<sup>1</sup> Or Brunette. See note, Jan. 27th, 1661-62. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Silas Taylor, Storekeeper at Harwich.

thing to say, we ought to say it before he had chose him. Sir G. Carteret thought himself concerned, and endeavoured to clear himself: and by and by Sir W. Batten did speak, knowing himself guilty, and did confess, that being pressed by the Council he did say what he did, that he was accounted a fanaticque; but did not know that at that time he had been appointed by his Royal Highness. To which the Duke: that it was impossible but he must know that he had appointed him; and so it did appear that the Duke did mean all this while Sir W. Batten.

21st. Up, and after evening reckonings to this day with Mr. Bridges, the linnen draper, for callicos, I out to Doctors' Commons, where by agreement my cozen Roger and I did meet my cozen, Dr. Tom Pepys, and there a great many and some high words on both sides, but I must confess I was troubled; first, to find my cozen Roger such a simple but well-meaning man as he is; next to think that my father, out of folly and vain glory, should now and then (as by their words I gather) be speaking how he had set up his son Tom with his goods and house, and now these words are brought against him—I fear to the depriving him of all the profit the poor man intended to make of the lease of his house and sale of his owne goods. Thence to Mrs. Turner's, in Salisbury Court, and with her a little, and carried her, the porter staying for me, our eagle, which she desired the other day, and we were glad to be rid of her, she fouling our house mightily. They are much pleased with her. My Lord Sandwich

this day writes me word that he hath seen (at Portsmouth) the Comet, and says it is the most extraordinary thing he ever saw.

22nd. Met with a copy of verses, mightily commended by some gentlemen there, of my Lord Mordaunt's,<sup>1</sup> in excuse of his going to sea this late expedition, with the Duke of York. But Lord ! they are but sorry things ; only a Lord made them. Thence to the 'Change ; and there, among the merchants, I hear fully the news of our being beaten to dirt at Guinny, by De Ruyter with his fleete. The particulars, as much as by Sir G. Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth ; it being most wholly to the utter ruine of our Royall Company, and reproach and shame to the whole nation, as well as justification to them in their doing wrong to no man as to his private property, only taking whatever is found to belong to the Company, and nothing else. Dined at the Dolphin, Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, with Sir W. Boreman and Sir Theophilus Biddulph<sup>2</sup> and others, Commissioners of the Sewers, about our place below to lay masts in. But coming a little too soon, I out again, and tooke boat down to Redriffe ; and just in time within two minutes, and saw the new vessel of Sir William Petty's launched, the King and Duke being there. It swims and looks finely, and I

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<sup>1</sup> Vide note, Nov. 26th, 1666.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Theophilus Biddulph, of Westcombe, Kent, who had been previously

believe will do well. Coming away back immediately to dinner, where a great deal of good discourse, and Sir G. Carteret's discourse of this Guinny business, with great displeasure at the losse of our honour there, and do now confess that the trade brought all these troubles upon us between the Dutch and us.

23rd. I hear that the Dutch have prepared a fleete to go the backway to the Streights, where without doubt they will master our fleete. This put to that of Guinny makes me fear them mightily, and certainly they are a most wise people, careful of their business. The King of France, they say, do declare himself obliged to defend them, and lays claim by his Embassador to the wines we have taken from the Dutch Bordeaux men, and more, it is doubted whether the Swede will be our friend or no. Pray God deliver us out of these troubles! This day Sir W. Batten sent and afterwards spoke to me, to have me and my wife come and dine with them on Monday next: which is a mighty condescension in them, and for some great reason I am sure, or else it pleases God by my late care of business to make me more considerable even with them than I am sure they would willingly owne me to be. God make me thankfull and carefull to preserve myself so, for I am sure they hate me and it is hope or fear that makes them flatter me. I purpose to endeavour to be called in the morning to see

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knighted, was made a baronet, 2nd November, 1664. He was then serving in parliament for Litchfield.

the Comet,<sup>1</sup> though I fear we shall not see it, because it rises in the east but 16 degrees and the houses will hinder us.

24th. Having sat up all night to past two o'clock this morning, our porter, being appointed, comes and tells us that the bellman tells him that the star is seen upon Tower Hill ; so I, that had been all night setting in order all my old papers in my chamber, did leave off all, and my boy and I to Tower Hill, it being a most fine, bright moonshine night, and a great frost ; but no Comet to be seen. So after running once round the Hill, I and Tom, we home and then to bed. Rose about 9 o'clock and then to the office. At noon to the 'Change, to the Coffee-house ; and there heard Sir Richard Ford tell the whole story of our defeat at Guinny. Wherein our men are guilty of the most horrid cowardice and perfidiousness, as he says and tells it, that ever Englishmen were. Captain Reynolds, that was the only commander of any of the King's ships there, was shot at by De Ruyter, with a bloody flag flying. He, instead of opposing (which, indeed, had been to no purpose, but only to maintain honour) did poorly go on board himself, to ask what De Ruyter would have ; and so yield to whatever Ruyter would desire. The King and Duke are highly vexed at it, it seems, and the business deserves it. This evening I saw the Comet, which is now, whether worn away or no I know not, but appears not with a

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<sup>1</sup> It is one of the twenty-four comets of which the observations have been collected in Halley's "*Astronomiæ Cometiciæ Synopsis*."

tail, but only is larger and duller than any other star, and is come to rise betimes, and to make a great arch, and is gone quite to a new place in the heavens than it was before : but I hope in a clearer night something more will be seen.

25th (Lord's day and Christmas day). To church, where Mr. Mills, a good sermon. After dinner I to Sir W. Batten's, and there received much good usage (as I have of late done) from him and my Lady, obliging me and my wife, according to promise, to come and dine with them to-morrow with our neighbours, and by discourse receive fresh instances of Sir J. Minnes's folly in complaining to Sir G. Carteret of Sir W. Batten and me for some family offences, such as my having of a stopcock to keepe the water from them, which vexes me, but it would more but that Sir G. Carteret knows him very well. Thence to Mr. Rawlinson's church,<sup>1</sup> where I heard a good sermon of one that I remember was at Paul's with me, his name Maggett ; and very great store of fine women there is in this church, more than I know anywhere else about us.

26th. To White Hall, and there with the rest did our usual business before the Duke and then with Sir W. Batten back and to his house, where I by sicknesse excused my wife's coming to them to-day (my wife's eye being ill still of the blow I did in a passion give her the other day). Thence I to the Coffee-house,

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<sup>1</sup> St. Dionis Backchurch.

where much good discourse, and all the opinion now is that the Dutch will avoid fighting with us at home, but do all the hurte they can to us abroad ; which it may be they may for a while, but that, I think, cannot support them long. To Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Coventry and all our families here, women and all, and Sir R. Ford and his, and a great feast and good discourse and merry, and there all the afternoon and evening till late, and so home to bed, where my wife and people innocently at cards very merry, and I to bed, leaving them to their sport and blindman's buff.

27th. My people came to bed, after their sporting, at four o'clock in the morning ; I up at seven, and to Deptford and Woolwich in a gally ; the Duke calling me out of the barge in which the King was with him going down the river, to know whither I was going. I told him to Woolwich, but was troubled afterwards I should say no farther, being in a gally, lest he think me too profuse in my journeys. Back again by two o'clock to Sir J. Minnes to dinner. The Comet appeared again to-night, but duskishly. I went to bed, leaving my wife and all her folks, and Will also, to come to make Christmas gambols to-night.

28th. My wife to bed at eight o'clock in the morning, which vexed me a little, but I believe there was no hurt in it at all, but only mirth, therefore took no notice. I abroad with Sir W. Batten to the Council Chamber, where all of us to discourse about the way of measuring ships and the freight fit to give for them



by the Tun, where it was strange methinks to hear so poor discourses among the Lords themselves, and most of all to see how a little empty matter delivered gravely by Sir W. Pen was taken mighty well, though nothing in earth to the purpose. But clothes, I perceive more and more every day, is a great matter. Visited my Lady Sandwich, and was there, with her and the young ladies, playing at cards till night. Then home and to my office late, then to bed, leaving my wife and people up to more sports, but without any great satisfaction to myself therein.

30th. My wife very full of a resolution to keepe within doors, not so much as to go to church or see my Lady Sandwich before Easter next, which I am willing enough, though I seem the contrary. This and other talke kept me a-bed till almost 10 o'clock. After dinner to several places to pay away money, to clear myself in all the world, and, among others, paid my bookseller 6*l.* for books I had from him this day, and the silversmith 22*l.* 18*s.* for spoons, forks, and sugar box.

31st. To my accounts, not of the month but of the whole yeare also, and was at it till past twelve at night, it being bitter cold ; but yet I was well satisfied with my worke, and, above all, to find myself, by the great blessing of God, worth 1,349*l.*, by which, as I have spent very largely, so I have laid up above 500*l.* this yeare above what I was worth this day twelvemonth. The Lord make me for ever thankful to his holy name for it ! Soon as ever the clock struck one, I kissed

my wife in the kitchen by the fireside, wishing her a merry new yeare.

So ends the old yeare, I bless God, with great joy to me, not only from my having made so good a yeare of profit, as having spent 420*l.* and laid up 540*l.* and upwards; but I bless God I never have been in so good plight as to my health in so very cold weather as this is, nor indeed in any hot weather, these ten years, as I am at this day, and have been these four or five months. But I am at a great losse to know whether it be my hare's foote<sup>1</sup> or taking every morning of a pill of turpentine, or my having left off the wearing of a gowne. My family is, my wife, in good health, and happy with her; her woman Mercer, a pretty, modest, quiett mayde; her chamber mayde Besse, her cook mayde Jane, the little girl Susan, and my boy, which I have had about half a yeare, Tom Edwards, which I took from the King's chappell, and a pretty and loving quiett family I have as any man in England. My credit in the world and my office grows daily, and I am in good esteeme with everybody, I think. My troubles of my uncle's estate pretty well over; but it comes to be but of little profit to us, my father being much supported by my purse. But great vexations remain upon my father and me from my brother Tom's death and ill condition, both to our disgrace and discontent, though no great reason for either. Publique matters are all in a hurry

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<sup>1</sup> As a charm against the colic.

See Diary, Jan 20th, 1664-65. (M. B.)

about a Dutch warr. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now afeard as much of them, as we lately contemned them. Every thing else in the State quiett, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleete at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books; and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping, or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep —

## AGE OF MY GRANDFATHER'S CHILDREN.

Thomas, 1595.

Mary, March 16, 1597.

Edith, October 11, 1599.

John (my Father), January 14, 1601.

My father and mother married at Newington, in Surry,

Oct. 15, 1626.

## THEYR CHILDREN'S AGES.

Mary, July 24, 1627. *mort.*<sup>1</sup>

Paulina, Sept. 18, 1628. *mort.*

Esther, March 27, 1630. *mort.*

John, January 10, 1631. *mort.*

Samuel,<sup>2</sup> Feb. 23, 1632.

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<sup>1</sup> The word "mort" must have been in some instances added long after the entry was first made.

<sup>2</sup> To this name is affixed the following note: "Went to reside in Magd. Coll. Camb. and did put on my gown first, March 5, 1650-51."

Thomas, June 18, 1634. *mort.*  
 Sarah, August 25, 1635. *mort.*  
 Jacob, May 1, 1637. *mort.*  
 Robert, Nov. 18, 1638. *mort.*  
 Paulina, Oct. 18, 1640.  
 John, Nov. 26, 1641. *mort.*  
 December 31, 1664.

## CHARMES.

## FOR STENCHING OF BLOOD.

Sanguis mane in te,  
 Sicut Christus fuit in se;  
 Sanguis mane in tuâ venâ  
 Sicut Christus in suâ pœnâ;  
 Sanguis mane fixus,  
 Sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.

## 2. A THORNE.

Jesus, that was of a Virgin born,  
 Was pricked both with nail and thorn;  
 It neither wealed, nor belled, rankled, nor boned;  
 In the name of Jesus no more shall this.

Or, thus:—

Christ was of a Virgin born,  
 And he was pricked with a thorn;  
 And it did neither bell, nor swell;  
 And I trust in Jesus this never will.

## 3. A CRAMP.

Cramp be thou faintless,  
 As our Lady was sinless,  
 When she bare Jesus.

## 4. A BURNING.

There came three Angells out of the East;  
The one brought fire, the other brought frost —  
Out fire; in frost.

In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

AMEN.

1664-65.

January 1st (Lord's day). This day I am dividing my expense, to see what my clothes and every particular hath stood me in: I mean all the branches of my expense. At noon a good venison pasty and a turkey to ourselves without any body so much as invited by us, a thing unusuall for so small a family of my condition: but we did it and were very merry.

2nd. Up, and it being a most fine hard frost I walked a good way toward White Hall and then did our usual business with the Duke. Thence, being forced to pay a great deale of money away in boxes (that is, basins at White Hall), I to my Lord Brouncker's, by appointment, in the Piazza, in Covent-Garden; where I occasioned much mirth with a ballet<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Dorset's song, "To all ye ladies now on land," &c. It is stated by Prior, in the dedication of his poems to Lionel Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, that the Earl's father wrote the celebrated sea-song, "the night before the engagement with the Dutch, in 1665:" but this assertion seems very questionable. Dr. Johnson, indeed, after remarking that seldom any splendid story is wholly true, mentions his having heard from the Earl of Orrery, who was likely to have good hereditary intelligence, that Lord Buckhurst had been a week employed upon the performance, and only retouched or finished it on the memorable evening. "But even this," adds the Doctor, "whatever it may subtract from his facility, leaves him his courage." In Johnson's "Poets," 1790, the song is described as "written at sea in the first Dutch war, the night before an engagement." T. Durfey, in his "Wit

I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town ; saying Sir W. Pen, Sir G. Ascue, and Sir J. Lawson made them. Here a most noble French dinner and banquet, the best I have seen this many a day and good discourse. Thence to my book-seller's and at his binder's saw Hook's book of the Microscope which is so pretty that I presently bespoke it, and away home, where thinking to be merry was vexed with my wife's having looked out a letter in Sir Philip Sidney about jealousy for me to read, which she industriously and maliciously caused me to do and the truth is my conscience told me it was most proper for me, and therefore was touched at it, but tooke no notice of it but read it out most frankly, but it stucke in my stomach. However to cards with my wife a good while and then to bed.

3rd. Up, and by coach to Sir Ph. Warwick's, the streete being full of footballs, it being a great frost,

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and Drollery." vol. v., speaks of the composition as "a ballad written by the late Lord Dorset, *when at sea*;" and in the fifth stanza he substitutes "Count Thoulouse" for "foggy Opdam," and "French" for "Dutch;" but the original words have been restored in more recent versions. In the absence of certain evidence, we cannot decide upon the fact; but all accounts agree in representing Buckhurst as having served as a volunteer under the Duke of York, whose first cruise took place in November, 1664. Perhaps, then, the ballad was written at this time, when an action between the two fleets was only delayed by the Dutch retiring to port. Thus Pepys might well have seen the song in January, 1664-65; and it still may have been retouched, and brought out with *éclat* during the excitement consequent upon the victory of June 3 following. Nor is it, indeed, easy to imagine that any one ever wrote a ballad when about to take part in a great naval conflict; or that if two songs had been contemporaneously composed on the same subject, with titles so nearly identical, one only should be known to exist.

and found him and Mr. Coventry walking in St. James's Parke. I did my errand to him about the felling of the King's timber in the forests, and then to my Lord of Oxford, Justice in Eyre, for his consent thereto, for want whereof my Lord Privy Seale<sup>1</sup> stops the whole business. I found him in his lodgings, in but an ordinary furnished house and roome where he was, but I find him to be a man of good discreet replies. Thence to the Coffee-house, where certain newes that the Dutch have taken some of our colliers to the North; some say four, some say seven. To Sir W. Batten's, who is going out of towne to Harwich to-morrow to set up a light-house there, which he hath lately got a patent from the King to set up, that will turne much to his profit. Here very merry, and so to my office again, where very late and then home to supper and to bed, but sat up with my wife at cards till past two in the morning.

4th. To my Lord of Oxford's, but his Lordship was in bed at past ten o'clock: and, Lord helpe us! so rude a dirty family I never saw in my life. To the 'Change, where I hear of some more of our ships lost to the Northward. Mr. Moore and I to "Love in a Tubb,"<sup>2</sup> which is very merry, but only so by gesture, not wit at all, which methinks is beneath the house. So walked home it being a very hard frost and I find myself as heretofore in cold weather to begin to burn

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Robartes, mentioned 22nd August, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> "The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub" (1664), a comedy by Sir George Ethieridge (1636 *circ.*–1694 *circ.*). (M. B.)



within and pimples and pricks all over my body, my pores with cold being shut up. So home to supper and to cards and to bed.

6th. Lay long in bed, but most of it angry and scolding with my wife about her warning Jane our cooke-mayde to be gone and upon that she desires to go abroad to-day to look a place. A very good mayde she is and fully to my mind, being neat, only they say a little apt to scold, but I hear her not. To my office all the morning busy. Dined at home, being pretty well reconciled to my wife, which I did desire to be, because she had designed much mirth to-day to end Christmas with among her servants. At night home, being twelfth night, and there chose my piece of cake, but went up to my viall, and then to bed, leaving my wife and people up at their sports, which they continue till morning, not coming to bed at all.

8th (Lord's day). To White Hall, and there to the Chappell, where one Dr. Beaumont<sup>1</sup> preached a good sermon, and afterwards a brave anthem upon the 150 Psalm, where upon the word "trumpet" very good musique was made. So walked to my Lady's and there dined with her where much pretty discourse.

9th. Walked to White Hall. In my way saw a woman that broke her thigh, in her heels slipping up upon the frosty streete. To the Duke, and there did our usual worke. Here I saw the Royal Society bring

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Beaumont, D.D., Prebendary of Ely, and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charter and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow ; and all the Fellows' hands are to be entered there, and lie as a monument ; and the King hath put his with the word Founder.<sup>1</sup> Thence took coach, and to my Lord Crew's and dined with him, who received me with the greatest respect that could be, telling me that he do much doubt of the successe of this warr with Holland, we going about it, he doubts, by the instigation of persons that do not enough apprehend the consequences of the danger of it, and therein I do think with him. Holmes was this day sent to the Tower, but I perceive it is made matter of jest only ; but if the Dutch should be our masters, it may come to be of earnest to him, to be given over to them for a sacrifice, as Sir W. Rawly<sup>2</sup> was. To a Tangier Committee, where I was accosted and most highly complimented by my Lord Bellasses,<sup>3</sup> our new governor, beyond my expectation ; and I may make good use of it. Our patent is renewed, and he and my Lord Barkeley, and Sir Thomas Ingram<sup>4</sup> put in as commissioners.

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<sup>1</sup> The book is still in use containing the autograph of every fellow from the institution of the Society to the present time.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> John, Lord Bellassis, second son of Thomas, Viscount Falconberg, an officer of distinction on the King's side during the Civil War. He was afterwards Governor of Tangier, and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Being a Catholic, the Test Act deprived him of all his appointments in 1672, but James II., in 1684, made him First Commissioner of the Treasury. Ob. 1689.

<sup>4</sup> Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a Privy Councillor. Ob. 1671.

11th. This evening, by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the Leopard and another, in the Straights, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off, whereof Captain Allen one: and that a Dutch fleete are gone thither; which if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad newes; God make us sensible of it! This night, when I came home, I was much troubled to hear my poor canary bird, that I have kept these three or four years, is dead.

12th. Spoke with a Frenchman who was taken, but released, by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns (with seven more of the like or greater ships), off the North Foreland, by Margett. Which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth; but the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth, will carry them away home. God preserve us against them, and pardon our making them in our discourse so contemptible an enemy!

13th. Up betimes and walked to my Lord Bellases's lodgings in Lincoln's Inne Fields, and there he received and discoursed with me in the most respectfull manner that could be, telling me what a character of my judgment, and care, and love to Tangier he had received of me, that he desired my advice and my constant correspondence, which he much valued, and my courtship, in which, though I understand his designe very well, and that it is only a piece of courtship, yet it is a comfort to me that I am become so

considerable as to have him need to say that to me, which, if I did not do something in the world, would never have been. Here well satisfied I to Sir Ph. Warwick, and there did some business with him ; thence to Jervas's and there spent a little idle time with him, his wife, Jane, and a sweetheart of hers. So to the Hall awhile and thence to the Exchange, where yesterday's newes confirmed, though in a little different manner ; but a couple of ships in the Straights we have lost, and the Dutch have been in Margaret Road.<sup>1</sup> To dinner and so abroad alone to the King's house, to a play, "The Traytor,"<sup>2</sup> where, unfortunately, I met with Sir W. Pen, so that I must be forced to confess it to my wife, which troubles me. Thence walked home, being ill-satisfied with the present actings of the house, and prefer the other house before this infinitely. To my Lady Batten's, where I find Pegg Pen, the first time that ever I saw her to wear spots.

14th. Our late ill newes confirmed in loss of two ships in the Straights, but are now the Phoenix and Nonsuch. With my wife to the King's house, there to see "Vulpone,"<sup>3</sup> a most excellent play ; the best I think I ever saw, and well acted. So home, supper, and bed, resolving by the grace of God from this day to follow hard to my business again, after a weeke or fortnight's neglect.

15th (Lord's day). Up, and after a little at my

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<sup>1</sup> Margate.

<sup>2</sup> A Tragedy by Shirley, licensed 1631. (M. B.)

<sup>3</sup> A Comedy by Ben Jonson.

office to prepare a fresh draught of my vows for the next yeare I to church, where a most insipid young coxcomb preached. After dinner to read in "Rushworth's Collections"<sup>1</sup> about the charge against the late Duke of Buckingham, in order to the fitting me to speak and understand the discourse anon before the King about the suffering the Turkey merchants to send out their fleete at this dangerous time, when we can neither spare them ships to go, nor men, nor King's ships to convoy them.<sup>2</sup> At four o'clock with Sir W. Pen in his coach to my Lord Chancellor's, where by and by Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, Sir J. Lawson, Sir G. Ascue, and myself were called in to the King, there being several of the Privy Council, and my Lord Chancellor lying at length upon a couch (of the goute I suppose); and there Sir W. Pen spoke pretty well to dissuade the King from letting these Turkey ships go out: saying (in short) the King having resolved to have 130 ships out by the spring, he must have above 20 of them merchantmen. Towards which, he in the whole River could find but 12 or 14, and of them the five ships taken up by these merchants were a part, and so could not be spared. That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these 130 ships, and of them in service we have not above 16,000; so that we shall

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<sup>1</sup> Rushworth's historical collections of private passages in state, &c., appeared at various times in seven vols. folio, and were reprinted in eight vols. in 1721. The work is generally considered as too favourable to the republican party. Rushworth was born 1607, and died 1690. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> On the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

need 14,000 more. That these ships will with their convoys carry above 2,000 men and those the best men that could be got ; it being the men used to the Southward that are the best men for warr, though those bred in the North among the colliers are good for labour. That it will not be safe for the merchants, nor honourable for the King, to expose these rich ships with his convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to secure them against the Dutch, who, without doubt, will have a great fleete in the Straights. This, Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue he chiefly spoke that the warr and trade could not be supported together, and, therefore, that trade must stand still to give way to them. Mr. Coventry showed how the medium of the men the King hath one year with another employed in his Navy since his coming, hath not been above 3,000 men, or at most 4,000 men ; and now having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 must be found out of the trade of the nation. He showed how the cloaths, sending by these merchants to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the workmen, and are as many as they would send these twelve months or more ; so the poor do not suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, upon whose hands they lie dead ; and so the inconvenience is the less. And yet for them he propounded, either the King should, if his Treasurer would suffer it, buy them, and showed the losse would not be so great to him : or, dispense with the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out by strangers ; and ending that he doubted not but

when the merchants saw there was no remedy, they would and could find ways of sending them abroad to their profit. All ended with a conviction (unless future discourse with the merchants should alter it) that it was not fit for them to go out, though the ships be loaded. So we withdrew, and the merchants were called in. Staying without, my Lord FitzHarding came thither, and fell to discourse of Prince Rupert's disease<sup>1</sup> telling the horrible degree of its breaking out on his head. He observed also from the Prince, that courage is not what men take it to be, a contempt of death; for, says he, how chagrined the Prince was the other day when he thought he should die, having no more mind to it than another man. But, says he, some men are more apt to think they shall escape than another man in fight, while another is doubtfull he shall be hit. But when the first man is sure he shall die, as now the Prince is, he is as much troubled and apprehensive of it as any man else; for, says he, since we told him that we believe he would overcome his disease, he is as merry, and swears and laughs and curses, and do all the things of a man in health, as ever he did in his life; which, methought, was a most extraordinary saying before a great many persons there of quality.

16th. Ned Pickering met me and told me how active my Lord is at sea, and that my Lord Hinchbroke is now at Rome, and, by all report, a very

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<sup>1</sup> Morbus, scil. Gallicus.



noble and hopefull gentleman. Thence to Mr. Povy's, and dined well after his old manner of plenty and curiosity. Thence to visit my Lady Sandwich and so to a Tangier Committee, where a great company of the new Commissioners, Lords, that in behalfe of my Lord Bellasses are very loud and busy and call for Povy's accounts, but it was a most sorrowful thing to see how he answered to questions so little to the purpose, but to his owne wrong. My Lord Barkeley was very violent against Povy. But my Lord Ashly, I observe, is a most clear man in matters of accounts, and most ingeniously did discourse and explain all matters. This afternoon Secretary Bennet read to the Duke of York his letters, which say that Allen has met with the Dutch Smyrna fleet at Cales,<sup>1</sup> and sunk one and taken three. How true or what these ships are time will show, but it is good newes and the newes of our ships being lost is doubted at Cales<sup>1</sup> and Malaga. God send it false !

17th. To my Lord Ashly's, where to see how simply, beyond all patience, Povy did again, by his many words and no understanding, confound himself and his business, to his disgrace, and rendering every body doubtfull of his being either a foole or knave, is very wonderfull. We broke up all dissatisfied. Here it was mighty strange to find myself sit here in Committee with my hat on, while Mr. Sherwin stood bare as a clerke, with his hat off to his Lord Ashly and the

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<sup>1</sup> Cadiz. (M. B.)

rest, but I thank God I think myself never a whit the better man for all that. Thence with Creed to the 'Change and Coffee-house and so home, where a brave dinner, by having a brace of pheasants and very merry about Povy's folly.

18th. To my bookseller's, and there did give thorough direction for the new binding of a great many of my old books, to make my whole study of the same binding, within very few. Thence to my Lady Sandwich, who sent for me this morning. Dined with her, and it was to get a letter of hers conveyed by a safe hand to my Lord's owne hand at Portsmouth, which I did undertake. Here my Lady did begin to talk of what she had heard concerning Creed, of his being suspected to be a fanatique and a false fellow. I told her I thought he was as shrewd and cunning a man as any in England and one that I would feare first should outwit me in any thing. To which she readily concurred.

19th. To Exeter House,<sup>1</sup> and there was a witness of most base language against Mr. Povy, from my Lord Peterborough, who is most furiously angry with him, because the other, as a foole, would needs say that the 26,000*l.* was my Lord Peterborough's account, and that he had nothing to do with it. Home, by coach, with my Lord Barkeley, who, by his discourse, I find do look upon Mr. Coventry as an enemy, but yet professes great justice and pains. This day was

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<sup>1</sup> Where Lord Ashley then lived.

buried (but I could not be there) my cozen Percivall Angier; and yesterday I received the newes that Dr. Tom Pepys is dead, at Impington, for which I am but little sorry, not only because he would have been troublesome to us, but a shame to his family and profession; he was such a coxcomb.

20th. To my bookseller's and there took home Hook's book of microscopy, a most excellent piece, and of which I am very proud. So homeward, in my way buying a hare and taking it home, which arose upon my discourse to-day with Mr. Batten, in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake that my hare's foote hath not the joynt to it; and assures me he never had his choliue since he carried it about him: and it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner almost handled his foote, but I became very well, and so continue.

21st. Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House, and there showed me the Queene-Mother's chamber and closett, most beautiful places for furniture and pictures; and so down the great stone stairs to the garden, and tried the brave echo upon the stairs; which continues a voice so long as the singing three notes, concords, one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly. Thence to a Tangier Committee, where I saw nothing ordered by judgment, but great heat and passion and faction now in behalf of my Lord Bellasses and to the reproach of my Lord Teviott and dislike as it were of former proceedings. So away with Mr.

Povy, a simple fellow I now find him, to his utter shame in his business of accounts, as none but a sorry foole would have discovered himself; and yet, in little, light, sorry things very cunning; yet, in the principal, the most ignorant man I ever met with in so great trust as he is. To bed being now mighty well, and truly I cannot but impute it to my fresh hare's foote.

22nd (Lord's day). To church. Thence home, discoursing, among other things, of a design I have come in my head this morning at church of making a match between Mrs. Betty Pickering and Mr. Hill, my friend the merchant, that loves musique and comes to me a' Sundays, a most ingenious and sweet-natured and highly accomplished person. I know not how their fortunes may agree but their disposition and merits are much of a sort, and persons, though different, yet equally, I think, acceptable.

23d. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to White Hall; but there finding the Duke gone to his lodgings at St. James's for alltogether, his Duchesse being ready to lie in, we to him, and there did our usual business. And here I met the great newes confirmed by the Duke's own relation, by a letter from Captain Allen. First, of our own loss of two ships, the Phoenix and Nonsuch, in the Bay of Gibraltar: then of his and his seven ships with him, in the Bay of Cales, or thereabouts, fighting with the 34 Dutch Smyrna fleete; sinking the King Salamon, a ship worth a 150,000*l.* or more, some say 200,000*l.* and another; and taking of three merchant-ships. Two

of our ships were disabled, by the Dutch unfortunately falling against their will against them; the Advice, Captain W. Poole, and Antelope, Captain Clerke. The Dutch men of war did little service. Captain Allen did receive many shots at distance before he would fire one gun, which he did not do till he came within pistol-shot of his enemy. The Spaniards on shore at Cales, did stand laughing at the Dutch, to see them run away and flee to the shore, 34 or thereabouts, against eight Englishmen at most. I do purpose to get the whole relation, if I live, of Captain Allen himself. In our loss of the two ships in the Bay of Gibraltar, it is observable how the world do comment upon the misfortune of Captain Moone of the Nonsuch (who did lose, in the same manner, the Satisfaction), as a person that hath ill-luck attending him; without considering that the whole fleete was ashore. Captain Allen led the way, and himself writes that all the masters of the fleet, old and young, were mistaken, and did carry their ships aground. But I think I heard the Duke say that Moone, being put into the Oxford, had in this conflict regained his credit, by sinking one and taking another. Captain Seale of the Milford hath done his part very well, in boarding the King Salamon, which held out half an hour after she was boarded; and his men kept her an hour after they did master her, and then she sunk, and drowned about 17 of her men.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen

months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the warr.<sup>1</sup> And they say it is very true, but very strange, for we used to believe they cannot support themselves without trade. Home to supper, having a great cold, got on Sunday last, by sitting too long with my head bare, for Mercer to comb my hair and wash my eares.

25th. Up, and busy all the morning, dined upon a hare pye, very good meat. To the Coffee-house, where I met Mr. Hill, and there he tells me, that he is to be Assistant to the Secretary of the Prize Office, Sir Ellis Layton, which, methinks, is but something low, but perhaps may bring him something considerable; but it makes me alter my opinion of his being so rich as to make a fortune for Mrs. Pickering. Thence home and visited Sir J. Minnes, who continues ill, but is something better, there he told me what a mad freaking fellow Sir Ellis Layton hath been, and is, and once at Antwerp was really mad.

27th. To my Lord Bellasses's, and so with my Lord in his coach to White Hall, and with him to my Lord Duke of Albemarle, finding him at cards. After a few dull words or two, I away to White Hall and

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<sup>1</sup> This statement of a total prohibition of all trade, and for so long a period as eighteen months, by a government so essentially commercial as that of the United Provinces seems extraordinary. The fact, as I am informed, was, that when in the beginning of the year 1665 the States General saw that the war with England was become inevitable, they took several vigorous measures, and determined to equip a formidable fleet, and with a view to obtain a sufficient number of men to man it, prohibited all navigation, especially in the great and small fisheries as they were then called, and in the whale fishery. This measure appears to have resembled the embargoes so commonly resorted to in this country on similar occasions, rather than a total prohibition of trade.

there delivered a letter to the Duke of York about our Navy business, and thence walked up and down the gallery, talking with Mr. Slingsby, who is a very ingenious person, about the Mint. He argues, that there being 700,000*l.* coined in the Rump time, and by all the Treasurers of that time, it being their opinion that the Rump money was in all payments, one with another, about a tenth part of all their money. Then, says he, to my question, the nearest guess we can make is, that the money passing up and down in business is 700,000*l.* He also made me fully understand that the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported, is, and ever was a folly and an injury, rather than good. Arguing thus, that if the exportations exceed the importations, then the balance must be brought home in money, which, when our merchants know cannot be carried out again, they will forbear to bring home in money, but let it lie abroad for trade, or keepe in foreign banks: or if our importations exceed our exportations, then, to keepe credit, the merchants will and must find ways of carrying out money by stealth, which is a most easy thing to do, and is every where done; and therefore the law against it signifies nothing in the world. Besides, that it is seen, that where money is free, there is great plenty; where it is restrained, as here, there is great want, as in Spayne.

28th. This day I received a good sum of money due to me upon one score or another from Sir G. Carteret, among others to clear all my matters about



Colours,<sup>1</sup> where in a month or two since I was so embarrassed and I thank God I find myself to have got clear, by that commodity, 50*l.* and something more ; and earned it with dear pains and care and issuing of my owne money, and saved the King near 100*l.* in it.

30th. This is solemnly kept as a Fast all over the City, but I kept my house, putting my closett to rights again. To my office, and being late at it, comes Mercer to me, to tell me that my wife was in bed, and desired me to come home ; for they hear, and have, night after night, lately heard noises over their head upon the leads. Now it is strange to think how, knowing that I have a great sum of money in my house, this puts me into a most mighty affright, that for more than two hours, I could not almost tell what to do or say, but feared this and that, and remembered that this evening I saw a woman and two men stand suspiciously in the entry, in the darke ; I calling to them, they made me only this answer, the woman said that the men came to see her ; but who she was I could not tell. The truth is, my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to be come to ; and at my windows, over the stairs, to see who goes up and down ; but, if I escape to-night, I will remedy it. God preserve us this night safe ! So at almost two o'clock, I home to my house, and, in great fear, to bed, thinking every running of a mouse

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<sup>1</sup> Bewpers and calicoes for colours or flags. (M. B.)

really a thiefe; and so to sleep, very brokenly, all night long, and found all safe in the morning.

31st. To the office and there all the afternoon late. My wife sent for me, and what was it but to tell me how Jane carries herself and I must put her away presently. But I did hear both sides and found my wife much in fault, and the grounds of all the difference is my wife's fondness of Tom, to the being displeased with all the house beside to defend the boy, which vexes me but I will cure it. Many high words between my wife and I, but the wench shall go, but I will take a course with the boy, for I fear I have spoiled him already. Thence to my accounts, the Lord be praised for what I have, which is this month come down to 1,257*l*.

February 1st. After being in bed, my people come and say there is a great stinke of burning, but no smoke. We called up Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's people, and Griffin, and the people at the madhouse, but nothing could be found to give occasion to it. At this trouble we were till past three o'clock, and then the stinke ceasing, I to sleep, and my people to bed.

3rd. To Mrs. Turner, who I perceive is vexed, because I do not serve her in something against the great feasting<sup>1</sup> for her husband's Reading in helping her to some good penn'eths, but I care not. She was dressing herself by the fire in her chamber, and

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<sup>1</sup> On appointment as Reader in Law. See 3rd March, 1664-65. (M. B.)

there took occasion to show me her leg, which indeed is the finest I ever saw, and she not a little proud of it. So to my bookseller's. My bill for the rebinding of some old books to make them suit with my study, cost me, besides other new books in the same bill, 5*l.*; but it will be very handsome. Newes is come from Deale, that the same day my Lord Sandwich sailed thence with the fleete, that evening some Dutch men of warr were seen on the back side of the Goodwin, and, by all conjecture, must be seen by my Lord's fleete; which, if so, they must engage. Thence, being invited, to my uncle Wight's, where the Wights all dined; and, among the others, pretty Mrs. Margaret, who indeed is a very pretty lady; and though by my vowe it costs me 12*d.* a kiss after the first, yet I did adventure upon a couple. So home, and among other letters found one from Jane, that is newly gone, telling me how her mistresse won't pay her her Quarter's wages. Then to visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my Lady Jemimah, with Sir G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land. But I will inform myself, and give her my opinion. Then Mrs. Pickering (after private discourse ended, we going into the other room) did, at my Lady's command, tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day.<sup>1</sup> Where six women

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<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* yesterday. See Evelyn's "Diary" and De Grammont.

(my Lady Castlemaine and Duchesse of Monmouth being two of them) and six men (the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Arran<sup>1</sup> and Monsieur Blanfort,<sup>2</sup> being three of them) in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did dance admirably and most gloriously. God give us cause to continue the mirth!

4th. I to the Sun behind the 'Change, to dinner to my Lord Belasses. He told us a very handsome passage of the King's sending him his message about holding out the town of Newarke, of which he was then governor for the King. This message he sent in a slugg-bullet, being writ in cypher, and wrapped up in lead and swallowed. So the messenger came to my Lord and told him he had a message from the King, but it was yet in his belly; so they did give him some physique, and out it came. This was a month before the King's flying to the Scots; and therein he told him that at such a day, the 3d or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty, honour, and safety, that could be desired. And at

<sup>1</sup> Richard Butler, second son of James, first Duke of Ormond, created Earl of Arran, in Ireland, in 1662, and, in 1674, made Baron Butler, of Weston, in Huntingdon, which honours became extinct at his death, *s. p. m.* in 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis Duras, Marquis de Blanquefort, naturalized 17th Charles II., and created Baron Duras 1672, and in 1677 succeeded to the Earldom of Feversham, under the limitation in the patent by which his father-in-law, who died without issue, had been raised to that title. He was afterwards made K. G. by James II., whom he had attended in the sea-fight of 1665, as Captain of the Guard.

the just day he did come to the Scots. He told us another odd passage : how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis of his governorship of Newarke, at the entreaty of the gentry of the County, and put in my Lord Bellasses ; the great officers of the King's army mutinyed, and came in that manner with swords drawn, into the market-place of the towne where the King was ; which the King hearing, says, " I must to horse." And there himself personally, when every body expected they should have been opposed, the King came, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, " Nephew, I command you to be gone." So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered. Thence after dinner to my office and in the evening was sent to by Jane that I would give her her wages. So I sent for my wife to my office and told her that rather than be talked on I would give her all her wages for this Quarter coming on, though two months is behind, which vexed my wife and we begun to be angry, but I took myself up and sent her away, but was cruelly vexed in my mind that all my trouble in this world almost should arise from my disorders in my family and the indiscretion of a wife that brings me nothing almost (besides a comely person) but only trouble and discontent.

5th (Lord's day). Up, and down to my chamber, among my new books, which is now a pleasant sight to me to see my whole study almost of one binding.

In the evening there came Mr. Andrews and Hill, and we sang very pleasantly ; and so, they being gone, my wife and I to supper, and to prayers and bed.

6th. To the 'Change, where I did some business, and ended my contract with the Kingfisher hired for Tangier, and I hope to get something by it. With Sir W. Warren 4 hours or more till very late, and have concluded a firm league with him in all just ways to serve him and myself all I can, and I think he will be a most usefull and thankfull man to me. Home, it being one of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England ; and I this day, under great apprehension of getting an ague from my putting a suit on that has lain by without airing a great while, and I pray God it do not do me hurte.

7th. To my office. At home to dinner. It being Shrove Tuesday, had some very good fritters. This day, Sir W. Batten, who hath been sicke four or five days, is now very bad, so as that people begin to fear his death ; and I am at a loss whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.

9th. Sir William Petty tells me that Mr. Barlow<sup>1</sup> is dead ; for which, God knows my heart, I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets 100*l.* per annum, he being a worthy, honest man ; but when I come to consider

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pepys's predecessor as Clerk of the Acts, to whom he paid part of the salary. Barlow had previously been Secretary to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, when High Admiral.

the providence of God by this means unexpectedly to give me 100*l.* a year more in my estate, I have cause to bless God, and do it from the bottom of my heart.

10th. To Paul's Churchyard, there to see the last of my books new bound : among others, my "Court of King James," and "The Rise and Fall of the Family of the Stewarts;" and much pleased I am now with my study ; it being, methinks, a beautifull sight. Thence in Mr. Grey's coach to Westminster, where I heard that yesterday the King met the Houses to pass the great bill for the 2,500,000*l.* After doing a little business I home, where Mr. Moore dined with me, and evened our reckonings on my Lord Sandwich's bond to me for principal and interest. So that now on both there is remaining due to me 257*l.* 7*s.*, and I bless God it is no more.

12th. To Church to St. Lawrence to hear Dr. Wilkins, the great scholar, for curiosity, I having never heard him : but was not satisfied with him at all. I was well pleased with the church, it being a very fine church.

13th. On board Sir W. Petty's "Experiment," which is a brave roomy vessel, and I hope may do well. So went on shore to a Dutch house, and there light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse touching stoveing,<sup>1</sup> and making of cables. But to see how despicably they speak of us for our using so many hands more to do anything than they do, they closing

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<sup>1</sup> Stoveing, in sail-making, is the heating of the bolt-ropes, so as to make them pliable.



a cable with 20, that we use 60 men upon. Captain Stokes, it seems, is at last dead at Portsmouth.

14th (St. Valentine). This morning comes betimes Dicke Pen,<sup>1</sup> to be my wife's Valentine, and came to our bedside. By the same token, I had him brought to my side, thinking to have made him kiss me; but he perceived me, and would not; so went to his Valentine: a notable, stout, witty boy. I up about business, and, opening the door, there was Bagwell's wife, with whom I talked afterwards, and she had the confidence to say, she came with a hope to be time enough to be my Valentine, and so indeed she did. My Lord Sandwich is, it seems, with his fleete at Aldborough Bay.

15th. At noon with Creed to the Trinity-house, where a very good dinner among the old sokers, and an extraordinary discourse of the manner of the loss of the Royall Oake coming home from Bantam, upon the rocks of Scilly. Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr. Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member; and was this day admitted, by signing a book and being taken by the hand by the President, my Lord Brouncker, and some words of admittance said to me.<sup>2</sup> But it is a most acceptable thing to hear their discourse, and see their experiments; which were this day upon the nature of fire, and how it goes out in a place where the ayre is

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<sup>1</sup> Younger son of Sir W. Pen. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Pepys was afterwards President. His portrait by Kneller, presented by himself, is still to be seen in the Great Room of the Society.

not free, and sooner out where the ayre is exhausted, which they showed by an engine on purpose. After this being done, they to the Crown Tavern, behind the 'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company to a club supper; Sir P. Neale,<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Murrey,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clerke, Dr. Whistler,<sup>3</sup> Dr. Goddard,<sup>4</sup> and others of most eminent worth. Above all, Mr. Boyle was at the meeting, and above him Mr. Hooke,<sup>5</sup> who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that ever I saw. Here excellent discourse till ten at night, and then home.

16th. To White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier; but, Lord! to see to what a degree of contempt, nay, scorn, Mr. Povy, through his prodigious folly, hath brought himself in his accounts, that if he be not a man of a great interest, he will be kicked out of his employment for a foole, is very strange, and that most deservedly that ever man was, for never any man, that understands accounts so little, ever went through so much, and yet goes through it with

<sup>1</sup> Sir Paul Neile, of White Waltham, Berks, eldest son to Neile, Archbishop of York.

<sup>2</sup> One of the founders of the Royal Society, made a Privy Councillor for Scotland after the Restoration.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Whistler, Fellow of Merton College, took the degree of M.D. at Leyden, 1645; and after practising in London, went as Physician to the Embassy, with Bulstrode Whitlock, into Sweden. On his return he became Fellow, and at length President, of the College of Physicians. *Ob.* 1684.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Goddard, M.D., F.R.S. He had been Physician to Cromwell. *M.P.* for Oxfordshire in 1653.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Robert Hooke, Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and Curator of the Experiments to the Royal Society, of which he was one of the earliest and most distinguished members. *Ob.* March 3rd, 1702-3.

the greatest shame and yet with confidence that ever I saw man in my life. God deliver me in my owne business of my bill out of his hands, and if ever I foul my fingers with him again let me suffer for it. Back to the 'Change, and thence home to dinner, where Mrs. Hunt dined with me, and poor Mrs. Batten, who brought her little daughter with her, and a letter from her husband, wherein, as a token, the foole presents me very seriously with his daughter for me to take the charge of bringing up for him, and to make my owne. But I took no notice to her at all of the substance of the letter.

17th. By coach to Povy's, where he told me, as I knew already, how he was handled the other day, and is still, by my Lord Barkeley, and among other things tells me, what I did not know, how my Lord Barkeley will say openly, that he hath fought more set fields than any man in England hath done.

18th. At noon to the Royall Oak Taverne in Lum-bard Streete; where Sir William Petty and the owners of the double-bottomed boat (the Experiment) did entertain my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murrey, myself, and others, with marrow bones, and a chine of beef of the victuals they have made for this ship; and excellent company and good discourse: but, above all, I do value Sir William Petty. Thence home; and took my Lord Sandwich's draught of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself; which will be very neat. My

Lord Sandwich, and his fleete of twenty-five ships in the Downes, returned from cruising, but could not meet with any Dutchmen.

19th. Lay in bed, it being Lord's day, all the morning talking with my wife, sometimes pleased, sometimes displeased, and then up and to dinner. In the evening comes Mr. Andrews, and we sung together, and at supper hearing by accident of my mayds their letting in a roguing Scotch woman that haunts the office, to helpe them to washe and scoure in our house, and that very lately, I fell mightily out, and made my wife, to the disturbance of the house and neighbours, to beat our little girle, and then we shut her down into the cellar, and there she lay all night.

20th. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's; which common people have already called Dunkirke-house, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that towne.<sup>1</sup> And very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Barkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other. To the Sun taverne where we dined merry; but my club and the rest come to 7s. 6d., which was too much. Home, where at my office my wife comes and tells me that she has hired a chamber mayde, one of the prettiest

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<sup>1</sup> "Oct. 8th, 1667. Lord Clarendon's House, called 'Clarendon House,' is now almost finished. The chapel is quite completed, and was consecrated, when His Honour gave a rich Bible, the cover of which was of silver, and the Book of Common Prayer with the same covering, together with bowls and other vessels for the Sacrament, to the value of £1,000. A sermon was preached that day by a Bishop." — RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

maydes that ever she saw in her life, and that she is really jealous of me for her, but has ventured to hire her from month to month, but I think she means merrily.

21st. My wife busy in going with her woman to a hot-house to bathe herself, after her long being within doors in the dirt, so that she now pretends to a resolution of being hereafter very clean. How long it will hold I can guess. I dined with Sir W. Batten and my Lady, they being now a'days very fond of me. So to the office, and after office my Lord Brouncker carried me to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there I with my Lady Sandwich (good lady) talking of innocent discourse of good housewifery and husbands for her daughters, and the luxury and looseness of the times till past ten at night, and so by coach home. My Lady tells me how my Lord Castlemaine is coming over from France, and is believed will be made friends with his Lady again. What mad freaks the Mayds of Honour at Court have: that Mrs. Jenings,<sup>1</sup> one of the Duchesse's mayds, the other day dressed herself like an orange wench, and went up and down and cried oranges; till falling down, or by some accident her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deale of shame; that such as these tricks being ordinary, and worse among them, thereby few will

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<sup>1</sup> Frances, daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq., of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, and eldest sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, married 1st, George Hamilton, afterwards knighted, and in the French service; and 2ndly, Richard Talbot, created Duke of Tyrconnel. She died in Ireland, 1730. The anecdote here related will be found in the "*Mémoires de Grammont*."

venture upon them for wives : my Lady Castlemaine will in merriment say that her daughter (not above a year old or two) will be the first mayde in the Court that will be married. This day my Lord Sandwich writ me word from the Downes, that he is like to be in towne this week.

22nd. At noon at the 'Change, busy ; where great talk of a Dutch ship in the North put on shore, and taken by a troop of horse.

23rd. This day, by the blessing of Almighty God, I have lived thirty-two years in the world, and am in the best degree of health at this minute that I have been almost in my life time, and at this time in the best condition of estate that ever I was in — the Lord make me thankfull. Up, and to the office, where busy all the morning. At noon to the 'Change, where I hear the most horrid and astonishing newes that ever was yet told in my memory, that De Ruyter with his fleete in Guinny has proceeded to the taking of whatever we have, forts, goods, ships, and men, and tied our men back to back, and thrown them all into the sea, even women and children also. This a Swede or Hamburger is come into the river and tells that he saw the thing done. But, Lord ! to see the consternation all our merchants are in is observable, and with what fury and revenge they discourse of it. But I fear it will like other things in a few days cool among us. But that which I fear most is the reason why he that was so kind to our men at first should afterwards be so cruel.

24th. To my office, where all the morning upon advising again with some fishermen and the water bay-liffe of the City, by Mr. Coventry's direction, touching the protections which are desired for the fishermen upon the river, and I am glad of the occasion to make me understand something of it.

25th. At noon to the 'Change; where just before I come, the Swede that had told the King and the Duke so boldly this great lie of the Dutch flinging our men back to back into the sea at Guinny, so particularly, and readily, and confidently, was whipt round the 'Change: he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something. It is said the Judges, upon demand, did give it their opinion that the law would judge him to be whipt, to lose his eares, or to have his nose slit: but I do not hear that anything more is to be done to him. They say he is delivered over to the Dutch Ambassador to do what he pleased with him. Thence to the Sun taverne, and there dined with Sir W. Warren and Mr. Gifford, the merchant: and I hear how Nich. Colborne, that lately lived and got a great estate there, is gone to live like a prince in the country, and that this Wadlow,<sup>1</sup> that did the like at the Devil<sup>2</sup> by St. Dunstan's, did go into the country, and there spent almost all he had

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<sup>1</sup> See note, 22nd April, 1661. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> The Devil Tavern stood between Temple Bar and the Middle Temple Gate, nearly opposite to St. Dunstan's Church. Child's Place, so called from the banking-house adjoining, was built in 1788, on the site of the tavern. See "Handbook of London."



got, and hath now choused <sup>1</sup> this Colborne out of his house, that he might come to his old trade again. But, Lord ! to see how full the house is, no room for any company almost to come into it. To the office, late home, and to clean myself with warm water ; my wife will have me, because she do herself.

27th. Up, and to St. James's, where we attended the Duke as usual. At noon to the 'Change to enquire what wages the Dutch give in their men-of-warr at this day, and I hear for certain they give but twelve guilders at most, which is not full 24s., a thing I wonder at. At home to dinner, and then in Sir J. Minnes's coach we to a Committee of the Council to discourse concerning pressing of men ; but, Lord ! how they meet ; never sit down : one comes, now another goes, then comes another ; one complaining that nothing is done, another swearing that he hath been there these two hours and nobody come. At last it came to this, my Lord Annesly <sup>2</sup> says, " I think we must be forced to get the King to come to every committee ; for I do not see that we do any thing at any time but when he is here." And I believe he said the truth : and very constant he is on council-days ; which his predecessors, it seems, very rarely were ; but thus I perceive the greatest affair in the world at this day is likely to be managed by us. But to hear how my Lord Berkeley and others of them do cry up the discipline of the late times here, and in the former Dutch warr is

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<sup>1</sup> See note, 15th May, 1663. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> Created Earl of Anglesea.

strange, wishing with all their hearts that the business of religion were not so severely carried on as to discourage the sober people to come among us, and wishing that the same law and severity were used against drunkenness as there was then, saying that our evil living will call the hand of God upon us again. Thence to walk alone a good while in St. James's Parke with Mr. Coventry, who I perceive is grown a little melancholy and displeased to see things go as they do so carelessly. To Sir Philip Warwick's; and there he did contract with me a kind of friendship and freedom of communication, wherein he assures me to make me understand the whole business of the Treasurer of the Navy, that I shall know as well as Sir G. Carteret what money he hath; and will needs have me come to him sometimes, or he meet me, to discourse of things tending to the serving the King: and I am mighty proud and happy in becoming so known to such a man. And I hope shall pursue it.

28th. After dinner my wife and I to my Lady Batten's, it being the first time my wife has been there, I think, these two years, but I have a mind in part to take away the strangeness, and so we did, and all very quiett and kind. Come home, I to the taking my wife's kitchen accounts at the latter end of the month, and there found 7*s.* wanting, which did occasion a very high falling out between us, I indeed too angrily insisting upon so poor a thing, and did give her very provoking words, calling her beggar, and reproaching her friends, which she took very stomach-

fully and reproached me justly with mine, and I confess, being myself, I cannot see what she could have done less. I find she is very cunning, and when she least shows it has her wit at work ; but it is an ill one, though I think not so bad but with good usage I might well bear with it, and the truth is I do find my being over-solicitous and jealous and froward and ready to reproach her do make her worse. However, I find that now and then a little difference do no hurte, but too much of it will make her know her force too much. We parted after many high words very angry, and I to my office to my month's accounts, and find myself worth 1,270*l.*, for which the Lord God be praised ! So ends this month, with great expectation of the Hollanders coming forth, who are, it seems, very high and rather more ready than we. God give a good issue to it !

March 1st. This day being the day that by a promise, a great while ago, made to my wife, I was to give her 20*l.* to lay out in clothes against Easter, she did, notwithstanding last night's falling out, come to peace with me and I with her, but did boggle mightily at the parting with my money, but at last did give it her, and then she abroad to buy her things. At noon I to dinner at Trinity House, and thence to Gresham College, where Mr. Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late Comet ; among other things proving very probably that this is the very same Comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a

very new opinion ; but all will be in print. Then to the meeting, where Sir G. Carteret's two sons, his owne, and Sir N. Slaning,<sup>1</sup> were admitted of the society : and this day I did pay my admission money, 40s. to the society. Here was very fine discourse and experiments, but I do lacke philosophy enough to understand them, and so cannot remember them. Among others, a very particular account of the making of the several sorts of bread in France, which is accounted the best place for bread in the world.

2nd. Began this day to rise betimes before six o'clock, and, going down to call my people, found Besse and the girle with their clothes on, lying within their bedding upon the ground close by the fireside, and a candle burning all night, pretending they would rise to scoure. This vexed me, but Besse is going and so she will not trouble me long.

3rd. To see Mrs. Turner, who takes it mighty ill I did not come to dine with the Reader, her husband, which, she says, was the greatest feast that ever was yet kept by a Reader, and I believe it was well. But I am glad I did not go, which confirms her in an opinion that I am growne proud. Thence to the 'Change and so home to dinner and to my office, where till 12 at night writing over a discourse of mine to Mr. Coventry touching the Fishermen of the Thames upon a reference of the business by him to me concerning their being protected from presse.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Slaning, K. B., married a daughter of Sir George Carteret.

4th. William Howe came to see me, being come up with my Lord from sea: he is grown a discreet, but very conceited fellow. He tells me how little respectfully Sir W. Pen did carry it to my Lord on board the Duke's ship at sea; and that Captain Minnes, a favourite of Prince Rupert's, do show my Lord little respect; but that every body else esteems my Lord as they ought. I am sorry for the folly of the latter, and vexed at the dissimulation of the former. This day was proclaimed at the 'Change the war with Holland.

5th (Lord's day). To my Lord Sandwich's and dined with my Lord; it being the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea: and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: "How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?" himself taking notice of it to me, that he had hardly seen her the week before. At dinner he did use me with the greatest solemnity in the world, in carving for me, and nobody else, and calling often to my Lady to cut for me; and all the respect possible.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. Great preparations for his speedy return to sea. I saw him try on his buff coat and hat-piece covered with black velvet. It troubles me more to think of his venture, than of any thing else in the whole warr. Thence home to dinner, where I saw Besse go away; she having of all wenches that ever lived with us received the greatest love and

kindnesse and good clothes, besides wages, and gone away with the greatest ingratitude. I then abroad, and so home, and there find our new chamber-mayde, Mary, come, which instead of handsome, as my wife spoke and still seems to reckon, is a very ordinary wench, I think, and therein was mightily disappointed.

8th. This morning is brought me to the office the sad newes of The London, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the Hope, and thence he was to go to sea in her ; but a little on this side the buoy of the Nower, she suddenly blew up. About 24 men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved ; the rest, being above 300, drowned : the ship breaking all in pieces, with 80 pieces of brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round-house above water. Sir J. Lawson hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them. I went to the 'Change, where the news taken very much to heart. To Gresham College, and there saw several pretty experiments.

9th. At Paule's Schoole, where I visited Mr. Crum-lum at his house ; and, Lord ! to see how ridiculous a conceited pedagogue he is, though a learned man, he being so dogmaticall in all he do and says. But among other discourse, we fell to the old discourse of Paule's Schoole ; and he did, upon my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lilly's grammars of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholique times, which I shall much set by. This night my wife had a new suit of flowered ash-coloured silke, very noble.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the City giving the King another ship for *The London*, that is lately blown up, which would be very handsome, and if well managed, might be done; but I fear if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done. To the Committee of Tangier at White Hall, where my Lord Barkely and Craven and others; but, Lord! to see how superficially things are done in the business of the Lottery, which will be the disgrace of the Fishery, and without profit.

11th. This day returned Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes from Lee Roade, where they have been to see the wreck of "*The London*," out of which, they say, the guns may be got, but the hull of her will be wholly lost, as not being capable of being weighed.

12th (Lord's day). Up, and borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was gone abroad. I sent the coach back for my wife, my Lord a second time dining at home on purpose to meet me, he having not dined once at home but those times since his coming from sea. I sat down and read over the Bishop of Chichester's sermon<sup>1</sup> upon the anniversary of the King's death, much cried up, but, methinks, but a mean sermon. By and by comes in my Lord, and he and I to talk of many things in the Navy, one from another, in general, to see how the greatest things are committed to very or-

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<sup>1</sup> See note to July 8th, 1660.



dinary men, as to parts and experience, to do ; among others, my Lord Barkeley. We talked also of getting W. Howe to be put into the Muster-Mastership in the roome of Creed, if Creed will give way, but my Lord do it without any great gusto, calling Howe a proud coxcomb in passion. Down to dinner, where my wife in her new lace whiske, which, indeed, is very noble, and I much pleased with it, and so my Lady also. Here very pleasant my Lord was at dinner, did look over his plate,<sup>1</sup> which Burston hath brought him to-day, and is the last of the three that he will have made. After satisfied with that he abroad, and I after much discourse with my Lady about Sir G. Carteret's son, of whom she hath some thoughts for a husband for my Lady Jemimah, we away home by coach again.

13th. Up betimes this morning, the first morning of my promise upon a forfeite not to lie in bed a quarter of an hour after my first waking. Abroad to St. James's, and there much business, the King also being with us a great while. This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them. This day I saw my Lord Castlemaine at St. James's, lately come from France.

14th. Up before six to the office, where busy all the morning. At noon dined with Sir W. Batten and

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<sup>1</sup> Of the draught of the harbour of Portsmouth. See Feb. 18th, 1664-65. (M. B.)

Sir J. Minnes, at the Tower, with Sir J. Robinson, at a farewell dinner which he gives Major Holmes at his going out of the Tower,<sup>1</sup> where he hath for some time, since his coming from Guinny, been a prisoner,<sup>2</sup> and, it seems, had presented the Lieutenant with fifty pieces yesterday. Here a great deale of good victuals and company.

15th. To Mr. Coventry's chamber, and there privately an houre with him in discourse of the office, and did deliver to him many notes of things about which he is to get the Duke's command, before he goes, for the putting of business among us in better order. He did largely owne his dependance as to the office upon my care, and I received very great expressions of love from him, and so parted with great satisfaction to myself. Home to dinner, where my wife being gone down upon a sudden warning from my Lord Sandwich's daughters to the Hope with them to see the Prince, I dined alone. Anon to Gresham College, where, among other good discourse, there was tried the great poyson of Maccassa<sup>3</sup> upon a dogg, but it had no effect all the time we sat there.

16th. At noon home to dinner, where my wife told me the unpleasant journey she had yesterday among the children, whose fear upon the water and folly made it very unpleasing to her. This afternoon Mr. Harris, the sayle-maker, sent me a noble present of

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<sup>1</sup> See 9th Jan., 1664-65. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> For taking New York from the Dutch. See 29th Sept., 1664, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> The Upas tree.

two large silver candlesticks and snuffers, and a slice to keep them upon, which indeed is very handsome. At night came Mr. Andrews with 36*l.*, the further fruits of my Tangier contract, and so to bed late and weary with business, but in good content of mind, blessing God for these his benefits.

17th. With Sir W. Batten to St. James's, where many came to take leave, as was expected, of the Duke, but he do not go till Monday. This night my Lady Wood died of the small-pox, and is much lamented among the great persons for a good-natured woman and a good wife, but for all that it was ever believed she was as others are. The Duke did give us some commands, and so broke up, not taking leave of him. But the best piece of newes is, that instead of a great many troublesome Lords, the whole business is to be left with the Duke of Albemarle to act as Admirall in his stead ; which is a thing that do cheer my heart. For the other would have vexed us with attendance and never done the business. Thence to the Committee of Tangier. The whole business was the stating of Povy's accounts, of whom to say no more, never could man say worse himself nor have worse said of him than was by the company to his face ; I mean, as to his folly and very reflecting words to his honesty. Broke up without anything but trouble and shame, only I got my business done to the signing of two bills for the contractors and Captain Taylor. Povy took occasion to desire me to step aside, and he and I by water to London together. In the way, of

his owne accord, he proposed to me that he would surrender his place of Treasurer<sup>1</sup> to me to have half the profit. The thing is new to me; but the more I think the more I like it, and do put him upon getting it done by the Duke.

18th. Povy acquainted me before Creed what he had done in speaking to the Duke and others about his making me Treasurer, and has carried it a great way, so as I think it cannot well be set back. Creed, I perceive, envies me in it, but I think as that will do me no hurte, so if it did I am at a great losse to think whether it were not best for me to let it wholly alone, for it will much disquiett me and my business of the Navy, which in this warr will certainly be worth all my time to me. Home, continuing in this doubtfull condition what to think of it, but God Almighty do his will in it for the best.

19th (Lord's day). Mr. Povy sent his coach for me betimes, and I to him, and there to our great trouble do find that my Lord FitzHarding do appear for Mr. Brouncker<sup>2</sup> to be Paymaster upon Povy's going out, by a former promise of the Duke's, and offering to give as much as any for it. This put us all into a great dumpe,<sup>3</sup> and so we went to Creed's new lodging

<sup>1</sup> For Tangier.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Brouncker, younger brother of Lord Brouncker, whom he succeeded in his title. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York, and a famous chess-player. See "*Mémoires de Grammont*."

<sup>3</sup> Generally in the plural, as in the well-known lines—

"For Witherington needs must I wayle,  
As one in doleful dumpes."

*Chevy Chase.*

in the Mewes, and there we found Creed with his parrot upon his shoulder, which struck Mr. Povy coming by just by the eye, very deep, which, had it hit his eye, had put it out. This awhile troubled us, but not proving very bad, we to our business consulting what to do ; at last resolved, and I to Mr. Coventry, and there had his most friendly and ingenuous advice, advising me not to decline the thing, it being that that will bring me to be known to great persons, while now I am buried among three or four of us, says he, in the Navy ; but do not make a declared opposition to my Lord FitzHarding. Then to my Lord Sandwich's to dinner, and after dinner to Mr. Povy's, who hath been with the Duke of York, and, by the mediation of Mr. Coventry, the Duke told him that the business shall go on, and he will take off Brouncker, and my Lord FitzHarding is quiett too. Mr. Povy and I in his coach to Hyde Parke, being the first day of the tour there. Where many brave ladies ; among others, Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach asleep, with her mouth open. There was also my Lady Kerneguy,<sup>1</sup> once my Lady Anne Hambleton. Here I saw Sir J. Lawson's daughter and husband, a

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But also, as here, in the singular, and so —

“ The fall of noble Monodante's son

Strake them into a *dumpe*, and made them sad.”

HARRINGTON'S *Ariost.* xliii. 147.

(M. B.)

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of William, Duke of Hamilton, wife of Lord Carnegy, who became Earl of Southesk on his father's death. She is frequently mentioned in the “*Mémoires de Grammont.*”

fine couple, and also Mr. Southwell and his new lady, very pretty. Thence back, putting in at Dr. Whore's, where I saw his lady, a very fine woman.

20th. Creed and I had Mr. Povy's coach sent for us, and we to his house ; where we did some business in order to the work of this day. Povy and I to my Lord Sandwich, who tells me that the Duke is not only a friend to the business, but to me, in terms of the greatest love and respect and value of me that can be thought, which overjoys me. Thence to St. James's, and there was in great doubt of Brouncker, but at last I hear that Brouncker desists. The Duke did direct Secretary Bennet to declare his mind to the Tangier committee, that he approves of me for Treasurer ; and with a character of me to be a man whose industry and discretion he would trust soon as any man's in England : and did the like to my Lord Sandwich. So to White Hall to the committee of Tangier, where there were present, my Lord of Albemarle, my Lord Peterborough, Sandwich, Barkeley, FitzHarding, Secretary Bennet, Sir Thomas Ingram, Sir John Lawson, Povy and I. Where, after other business, Povy did declare his business very handsomely ; that he was sorry he had been so unhappy in his accounts, as not to give their Lordships the satisfaction he intended, and that he was sure his accounts are right, and continues to submit them to examination, and is ready to lay down in ready money the fault of his account ; and that for the future, that the work might be better done and with more quiet

to him, he desired, by approbation of the Duke, he might resign his place to Mr. Pepys. Whereupon, Secretary Bennet did deliver the Duke's command, which was received with great content and allowance beyond expectation ; the Secretary repeating also the Duke's character of me. And I could discern my Lord FitzHarding was well pleased with me, and signified full satisfaction, and whispered something seriously of me to the Secretary. And there I received their constitution under all their hands presently ; so that I am already confirmed their Treasurer, and put into a condition of striking of tallys ; and all without one harsh word or word of dislike, but quite the contrary ; which is a good fortune beyond all imagination. Here we rose, and Povy and Creed and I, all full of joy, thence to dinner, they setting me down at Sir J. Winter's, by promise, and dined with him ; and a worthy fine man he seems to be, and of good discourse, and a fine thing it is to see myself come to the condition of being received by persons of this rank, he being, and having long been, Secretary to the Queene-Mother. Newes is this day come of Captain Allen's being come home from the Straights, as far as Portland, with eleven of the King's ships, and about twenty-two of merchantmen.

21st. Up, and my taylor coming to me, did consult all my wardrobe how to order my clothes against next summer. Late at my office, then home and there found a couple of state-cups, very large, coming, I suppose, to about 6*l*. a piece, from Burrows the slop-seller.



22nd. To Mr. Coventry, whose profession of love and esteem for me to myself was so large and free that I never could expect or wish for more, nor could have it from any man in England, that I should value it more. With Creed to the 'Change and to my house, but, it being washing day, took him (I being invited) to Mr. Houblon's,<sup>1</sup> the merchant, where Sir William Petty, and abundance of most ingenious men, owners and freighters of "The Experiment," now going with her two bodies to sea. Most excellent discourse. Among others, Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will<sup>2</sup> left such parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of a

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<sup>1</sup> James Houblon, an eminent London merchant, remarkable for his piety and plainness. Two of his sons rose to great wealth, and became knights and aldermen. Sir James Houblon served in parliament for his native city. Sir John was Lord Mayor in 1695, and, at the same time, a Lord of the Admiralty and Governor of the Bank. The best account of the father is to be found in the subjoined epitaph, said to be written by Pepys. Mr. John Archer Houblon, of Hallingbury, Essex, is the present representative of this very respectable family.

Jacobus Houblon,  
 Londin: Petri filius,  
 Ob fidem Flandriâ exulantis:  
 Ex C. Nepotibus habuit LXX superstites:  
 Filios V. videns mercatores florentissimos;  
 Ipse Londinensis Bursæ pater.  
 Piissime obiit nonagenarius,  
 A. D. MDCLXXXII.

See Pennant's "London," 4to. ed. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of Sir William Petty's will, dated 1685, is in the British Museum, (Addit. MSS., No. 15,858, folio 109). See also Lodge's "Irish Peerage," vol. ii. p. 80.

woman ; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says, that to him that invents gold, he gives nothing for the philosopher's stone ; for (says he) they that find out that, will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to give to a lecture ; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money. After dinner Mr. Hill took me with Mrs. Houblon,<sup>1</sup> who is a fine gentlewoman, into another room, and there made her sing, which she do very well, to my great content. Then to Gresham College, and there did see a kitling killed almost quite, but that we could not quite kill her, with such a way ; the ayre out of a receiver, wherein she was put, and then the ayre being let in upon her revives her immediately ; nay, and this ayre is to be made by putting together a liquor and some body that ferments, the steam of that do do the work. Thence to St. James's wherein these things fell out ; (1) I saw the Duke, kissed his hand, and had his most kind expressions of his value and opinion of me, which comforted me above all things in the world, (2) the like from Mr. Coventry most heartily and affectionately. (3) Saw, among other fine ladies, Mrs. Middleton,<sup>2</sup> a very great beauty I never knew or heard

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<sup>1</sup> The wife of James Houblon, Mary Ducane. They were married 11th November, 1620, and had twelve children.

<sup>2</sup> Jane, daughter to Sir Robert Needham, frequently mentioned in the "*Mémoires de Grammont*." Her portrait is at Windsor Castle amongst the beauties of Charles II.'s Court.

of before ; (4) I saw Waller <sup>1</sup> the poet, whom I never saw before.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich, who follows the Duke this day by water down to the Hope, where The Prince lies. He received me, busy as he was, with mighty kindness and joy at my promotions ; telling me most largely how the Duke hath expressed on all occasions his good opinion of my service and love for me. I paid my thanks and acknowledgement to him ; and so back home, where at the office all the morning.

24th. To Povy's and there delivered him his letters of greatest import to him that is possible, yet dropped by young Bland, just come from Tangier, upon the road by Sittingburne, taken up and sent to Mr. Pett, at Chatham. Thus every thing done by Povy is done with a fatal folly and neglect. To my Lady Sandwich's, where my wife all this day, having kept Good Friday very strict with fasting. Here we supped, and talked very merry. My Lady alone with me, very earnest about Sir G. Carteret's son, with whom I perceive they do desire my Lady Jemimah may be matched.

25th (Lady day). At noon dined alone with Sir W. Batten, where great discourse of Sir W. Pen, Sir W. Batten being, I perceive, quite out of love with him, thinking him too great and too high, and began to talk that the world do question his courage, upon which I told him plainly I have been told that he

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund Waller.

was articled against for it, and that Sir H. Vane was his great friend therein. This afternoon of a sudden is come home Sir W. Pen from the fleete, but upon what score I know not.

26th (Lord's day and Easter day). Up, and with my wife, who has not been at church a month or two, to church. Home to dinner, my wife and I, Mercer staying the Sacrament alone. This is the day seven years which by the grace of God I have survived of my being cut of the stone, and am now in very perfect good health and have long been ; and though the last winter hath been as hard a winter as any have been these many years, yet I never was better in my life, nor have not, these ten years, gone colder in the summer than I have done all this winter, wearing only a doublet, and a waistcoate cut open on the back ; abroad, a cloake and within doors a coate I slipped on. Now I am at a losse to know whether it be my hare's foot which is my preservative against wind, for I never had a fit of the collique since I wore it, or whether it be my taking of a pill of turpentine every morning.

27th. Up betimes to Mr. Povy's, and there did sign and seal my agreement with him about my place of being treasurer for Tangier. Thence to the Duke of Albemarle, the first time that we officers of the Navy have waited upon him since the Duke of York's going, who hath deputed him to be Admirall in his absence.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter, 22nd March, 1664-5, from the Duke of York to the Duke of Albemarle, on the power he assigns to him in his absence, printed in "Me-

And I find him a quiet heavy man, that will help business when he can, and hinder nothing, and am very well pleased with our attendance on him. I did afterwards alone give him thanks for his favour to me about my Tangier business, which he received kindly, and did speak much of his esteem of me. Thence, and did the same to Sir H. Bennet, who did the like to me very fully. So to my Lord Peterborough's; where Povy, Creed, Williamson, Auditor Beale, and myself, and mighty merry to see how plainly my Lord and Povy did abuse one another about their accounts, each thinking the other a foole, and I thinking they were not either of them, in that point, much in the wrong, though in everything, and even in this manner of reproaching one another, very witty and pleasant. Among other things, we had here the genteelest dinner and the neatest house that I have seen many a day and the latter beyond anything I ever saw in a nobleman's house. Thence visited my Lord Barkeley and did sit discoursing with him in his chamber a good while, and he mighty friendly to me about the same business of Tangier. From that to other discourse of the times and the want of money and he said that the Parliament must be called again soon, and more money raised, not by tax, for he said he believed the people could not pay it, but he would have either a general excise upon everything, or else that every city incorporate should pay a toll into the King's revenue,

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moirs of Naval Affairs," &c., 8vo., 1729, p. 51. On the 23rd, the Duke of York assumed the command of the fleet against the Dutch.

as he says it is in all the cities in the world ; for here a citizen hath no more laid on them than their neighbours in the country, whereas, as a city, it ought to pay considerably to the King for their charter ; but I fear this will breed ill blood.

28th. Up betimes and to the office where we sat all the morning and I did most of the business there, God wot. Thence to the Coffee-house with Sir W. Warren, where much good discourse for us both till 4 o'clock with great pleasure and content and then parted and I home to dinner having eat nothing. At night supped with my wife at Sir W. Pen's, who is to go back for good and all to the fleete tomorrow.

29th. To Povy's, thence abroad into the city, but upon his tally could not get any money in Lumbard Streete, through the disrepute which he suffers, I perceive, upon his giving up his place, which people think was not choice but necessity, as indeed it was. So back to his house and Creed by and by comes and after dinner he did but in the most cunning ingenious manner do his business with Creed by bringing it in by the by, that the most subtile man in the world could never have done it better, and I must say that he is a most witty cunning man and one that I am most afeard of in my conversation, though in all serious matters of business the veriest foole that ever I met with. Thence home calling for my Lord Cook's 3 volumes at my bookseller's. Late about drawing up a proposal for Captain Taylor, for him to deliver

to the City about his building the new ship, which I have done well, and I hope will do the business.

30th. To the Tangier Committee, where, Lord ! to see how they did run into the giving Sir J. Lawson (who is come to towne to-day to get this business done) 4,000*l.* about his Mole business, and were going to give him 4*s.* per yarde more, which arises in the whole Mole to 36,000*l.*, is a strange thing, but the latter by chance was stopped, the former was given.

31st. To my Lord Ashly and was civilly used by him, then to visit my Lord of Falmouth,<sup>1</sup> who did also receive me pretty civilly, but not as I expected ; he, I perceive, believing that I had undertaken to justify Povy's accounts, taking them upon myself, but I rectified him therein. So to my Lady Sandwich's to dinner and at night to my office and there made up my month's accounts, which, God be praised ! rose to 1,300*l.* I find Creed mightily transported by my Lord of Falmouth's kind words to him, and saying that he hath a place in his intention for him, which he believes will be considerable. A witty man he is in every respect, but of no good nature, nor a man ordinarily to be dealt with. My Lady Castlemaine is sicke again, people think, slipping her filly.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Berkeley, afterwards Viscount Fitzharding, and now created Earl of Falmouth, killed in the sea fight, June, 1665. See Oct. 12th, 1663. (M. B.)

<sup>2</sup> This did not occur, for George Fitzroy, created Duke of Northumberland, was born 28th September following.



## LIST OF PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS IN EDITION 1854.

PAGE	LINE		
10	.. 27	For greater . . .	read <i>great</i> .
20	.. 31	" safety . . .	" <i>uncertainty</i> .
30	.. 12	" part . . .	" <i>port</i> .
40	.. 9	" above . . .	" <i>about</i> .
41	.. 13	" appear . . .	" <i>are</i> .
48	.. 10	" all . . .	" <i>ell</i> .
50	.. 15	" spot . . .	" <i>sport</i> .
51	.. 15	" a time . . .	" <i>one bet</i> .
51	.. 25	" pretty . . .	" <i>finely</i> .
93	.. 1,2	" every . . .	" <i>his very</i> .
109	.. 28	" Lord Peter- borough }	" <i>Lord (i.e. Sandwich)</i> .
112	.. 26	" Maronicus .	" <i>Mauricius</i> .
123	.. 12	" the . . .	" <i>be</i> .
129	.. 19	" presented .	" <i>promised</i> .
130	.. 19	" Wallis . . .	" <i>Wells</i> .
146	.. 25	" recovered .	" <i>removed</i> .
147	.. 8	" in that . . .	" <i>quite</i> .
147	.. 17	" prettiest .	" <i>poorest</i> .
156	.. 18	" all . . .	" <i>also</i> .
167	.. 27	" sober . . .	" <i>stubborn</i> .
168	.. 29	" hottest . . .	" <i>highest</i> .
182	.. 13	" afraid . . .	" <i>ready</i> .
193	.. 3,4	" with him . . .	" <i>he is</i> .
204	.. 24	" any way .	" <i>over</i> .
215	.. 28	" five . . .	" <i>fine</i> .
219	.. 3	" proprietary .	" { <i>propriety, i.e. proper- ty</i> .
222	.. 3	" Essence . . .	" <i>Epsum</i> .
250	.. 23	" one another's	" { <i>one another by each other's</i> .
260	.. 29	" about . . .	" <i>above</i> .

PAGE	LINE		
263	.. 10	For Commissioner	read <i>Christopher.</i>
272	.. 7	" clear . . .	" <i>clean.</i>
283	.. 8	" missing . .	" <i>mixing of.</i>
286	.. 21	" modish .	" <i>modest.</i>
290	.. 19	" beginning .	" <i>again.</i>
303	.. 12	" wished . .	" <i>invited.</i>
308	.. 14	" King's . .	" <i>like.</i>
310	.. 10	" convey . .	" <i>convoy.</i>
310	.. 25	" about . .	" <i>above.</i>
320	.. 4	" due . . .	" <i>dear.</i>
320	.. 17	" night . .	" <i>and that.</i>
320	.. 18	" morning . .	" <i>evening.</i>
323	.. 13	" sealed . .	" <i>swallowed.</i>
327	.. 16	" jokers . .	" <i>sokers.</i>
329	.. 14	" hunted . .	" <i>handled.</i>
344	.. 24	" damp . . .	" <i>dumpe.</i>
347	.. 29	" state-caps .	" <i>state-cups.</i>
349	.. 7	" go . . .	" <i>give.</i>













